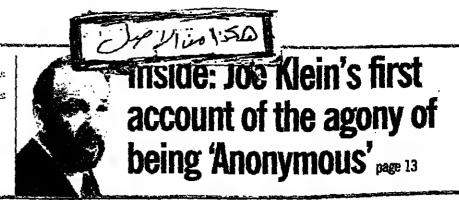


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# 

## Nursery plan drives schools to lower starting age to four



The age for starting school will effectively be reduced from five to four, under plans being considered by many local authorities in response to the Government's nursery voucher

Experts in early years edu-cation are alarmed by the pro-posals because they fear thousands of children who are just four will be put into reception classes which are not equipped to cope with such

From April oext year, all

parents of four-year-olds will re-ceive £1,100 in nursery vouchers, to be spent at state or private schools or at playgroups. Local authorities through-

out the country are reviewing their admissions policies to ensure that they receive the maximum share of voucher income. At present, the statutory starting age for school is five, though many authorities admit some pupils before their fifth birth-

Gillian Pugh, of the National Children's Bureau, said that while many local authorities were considering proposals to admit more four-year-olds, few

were looking at ways of chang-ing the staffing and curriculum reception classes.

"Everywhere else in Europe children start school at six. Now we are going to start them at four. It isn't the right way to raise standards. You don't tune four-year-olds into learning by treating them like five-yearolds," she said, arguing that there was a difference between nursery education and starting school, which many MPs bad failed to grasp.

Nursery classes, for instance. require a ratio of one teacher to thirteen children, but there is no limit on reception class

outhers. Experts also point out that it is counter-productive to introduce children to formal

lessons too soon. Local authorities are considering a variety of schemes for admitting children earlier than they do at present. Hereford and Worcester, which currently admits children in the term before they are five, is consulting schools about changing its policy. A spokesman said the general feeling was that children born in the summer should start when they were just four. two terms earlier than at present, and those born in the

term earlier than at present.

Bedfordshire will consult next term on ways of increasing the proportion of four-yearolds, though final decisions will be left to individual schools. Keith Fossey, the council's education manager, said: "We have to be sure we get back the vouchalready in school and to see if we can get our hands on some of the new money. We have a lot of independent nurseries and we may lose children to them."

He said the council aimed to establish standards to ensure that proper provision was made

take time to implement them. Oxfordshire is also consulting about the possibility of ad-

mitting a higher proportion of four-year-olds to school, but it is anxious not to do so at the expense of nursery education. A spokesman said: "We want to frame the policy in such a way that we say to parents that where nursery education is available we recommend that

the county's three and fouryear-olds are in oursery educa-Hampshire, which already

they put their children into nursery." Just over a quarter of

admits children to school on a part-time basis when they are four is exploring the idea of four-year-olds starting full-time

schoot earlier. Mrs Pugh said: "What real ly worries me is that, even if vouchers are overturned by a Labour government, the rot has set in. Once you have tak-en children in early, you are going to carry on doing so."

■ National tests for five-year olds are likely to be introduced in primary schools next year, after Government consultation with parents, governors and local authority leaders, it was confirmed yesterday.

## Tory reshuffle stirs up row over Europe

Senior Cabinet members rally round the Chancellor over single currency policy

MINNS CALLS Species

ALYMPIC GUE.

Chief Political Correspondent

carry out his ministerial summer reshuffle today, there was got to sort this out with Clarke, strong speculation at WestThe reshuffle will see some ropean currency.

The threatened resignation of David Heathcoat-Amory, in spite of intense pressure for the Treasury minister to remain in the Government, ripped the lid off a simmering row among the Prime Minister's most senior ministers over the party's election manifesto policy on

Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, has been joined by Michael Heseltine, the deputy Prime Minister, and Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, in the battle to prevent the Tories going into the election promising to rule out a single currency for the lifetime of the next Parliament.

They are insisting that the party should fight on the Government's White Paper policy of a promise of a referendum if a Cahinet recommends joining a single currency. Mr Clarke's pro-European sup-porters said Mr Rifkind and Mr Heseltine were supporting the Chancellor to ensure that he is not isolated by Euro-sceptic

Sileagues. led to some ministers warning privately that, with less than a year to go, they are ready to quit. Party whips have been eogaged in a heavy damage limitatioo operation to avoid more ministers leaving the Government. The reshuffle of the lower ranks expected today will do oothing to end the bitterness within the Government over Europe, and could leave some ministers, such as David Davis at the Foreign Office, disappointed with the fail-

ure to get higher office. Euro-sceptic Tory MPs said Eric Forth, the Thatcherite employment and education minister, and David Maclean, Michael Howard's loyal deputy

at the Home Office, are among the disgruntled ministers. "The have announced their intention bitterness in the tea room has As John Major prepared to to be seen to be believed," said

are ready to resign over his ministers who feel jaded after refusal to rule out a single Eumake way for younger blood. Those going are expected to include John Bowis, from the Department of Health. Tim Eggar, the energy minister, and Steve

#### Mandarin is called to account

The Treasury official responsible for the internal report predicting privatisation of the welfare state under a future Tory government is expected to be disciplined today by civil service bosses, writes Colin Brown.

Last night the Treasury was said to be furious with Helen Goodman, the civil servant who led the team which was dis-missed as "kids" by the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, after its report was leaked to the press. Ms Goodman is expected to

be challenged over her denial that she is a political activist, after it emerged at the weekend that she hopes to become a Labour MP and is on the shortlist of candidates for the safe Labour seat of South Yorkshire. However, a spokesman for the Cabinet Office said last night

that she had broken no civil service rules. As she has not gained the sent, she has not contravened the rule banning civil servants, under the Servants of the Crown Act, from being candidates for national or European parliamentary elections.

Ms Goodman, 37, whose husband publishes the left-of-centre Prospect magazine, called in the report for the privatisation fits and for roads to be sold off with drivers paying to use them.

to step down, But Patrick Mayhew, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, who has lold frieods he is exhausted, may have to continue until the election unless Mr Major his mind in favour of dramatic changes to his pack.

a winning stroke. If David Heathcoat-Amory were to resien, that would be very effec-

Part of the Tory panic over Europe was caused by rumours that Mr Blair was about to declare a commitment ruling out a single currency for the lifetime of the next Parliament. **Authoritative Shadow Cabinet** sources yesterday denied any such commitment by Labour.

the single currency. The "People's Europe"

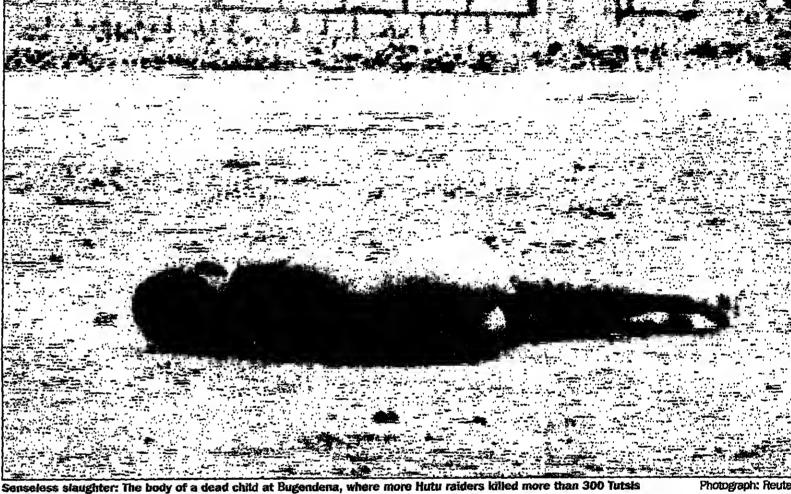


Mr Heathcoat-Amory, the Paymaster General at the Treasury, was refusing to comment over weekend speculation that he will quit to campaign against a single currency. Bill Cash, the leading Tory Euro-sceptic, said: "My argument is for a single currency to be put on the ageoda for the inter-governmental conference to put Helmut Kohl [the German Chancellor] Kohl and Tony Blair (the Labour leader oo the spot. It would be

tive in putting pressure on the Prime Minister." Terry Dicks, another Eurosceptic Tory MP, warned Mr Major against "pussy-footing

But Mr Blair, who is fighting attempts by the test wing to un-seat Harriet Harman in the Shadow Cabinet elections on Wednesday, is facing a challenge from more than 50 Euro-scep-tic Labour MPs. They are publishing a pamphlet tomorrow calling for Mr Blair to rule out

group is calling on activists to challenge their Labour MPs over their position oo Europe. The group warn that joining a single currency would lead to a Labour Government axing £18bn from public spending schemes, including hospitals and schools. They warn Mr Blair that it could split a Labour Cabinet in the same way that is has divided the Conservatives.



Bugendena

A charred claw protruded from the limp bundle where the woman's hand should have beeo. Two meo had wrapped her body in a piece of reed mat-ting and were half dragging it out of the red brick hut where she had fallen.

Smoke was still rising from the smouldering embers of the huilding and dark patches of congealed blood lay everywhere on the ground. On the concrete floor of the looted bealth centre, where the remains of more burned bodies lay in ashes, the pools of blood were still sticky

and red. Dead cattle, broken pots and blood-soaked clothes were scattered along the paths. Among the debris were piles of hullet casings and under a tree, three blood-covered cudgels.

Inside the door of a mud walled cabin another body was concealed, this one burned beyoud recognition, its face frozen. The papers discarded on the ground outside gave the only

Second Spain bomb

A second bomb was found in a

Spanish boliday hotel hours af-

ter a bomb exploded in Solau,

injuring 21 Britons Page 3

Exclusive: David Orr was the only European reporter to witness the aftermath of a massacre that left 300 dead

indication as to who the victim was. An ideotity card showed the smiling young face of a woman in a dress. Typed below her picture was: Spes-Caritas

Ndayikengurukiye, born 1971. "That is the body of my daughter-in-law," said Antoine Runkera, an old man who stood barefoot and crying a short dis-tance away. "My three grandchildren were also butchered."

This horrific set of killings is a reminder that the international community continues to stand by, even as it stood by during the Rwandan genocide. The UN has constantly talked of bringing a peace-keeping force to Burundi. But it has failed to match words with action. In the absence of an international force came this mass murder.

The true borror of Saturday morning's attack on Bugendena, in central Burundi, was revealed in a clearing at the end of a dirt track. There, on a piece

The disclosure that businessmen

can dine with the PM by pay-

ing £100,000 to Tory funds grew

into a row over sleaze Page 2

Major for hire

of open ground, were laid out the bodies of about 300 people. mostly women and children. The corpses, wrapped in blan-

been placed side by side in three long rows.

Many had open gashes oo their heads and limbs, others were badly burned. The feet which protruded from the makeshift shrouds were in many cases those of small children, no

kets and reed matting, had

more than a few inches long. Witnesses say the attack on Bugendena was launched as dawn broke over the lush, rolling hills which surround the community. This was a settlement of about 1,800 members of the country's minority Tutsi group. They were living in the centre's municipal buildings, after being displaced from their bomes in the fighting which followed a coup attempt by Tutsi

troops in 1993. Tutsi soldiers oow guarding Bugandena say the list of dead

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Section 1

CONTENTS

stands at 320 people, though this number could still rise. Some 160 wounded lie in oearby hospitals while about 30 inhabitants

are reported as missing. "We were asleep in our beds when we beard shooting," said Pascasie Ngendabanyika, one of more than 50 wounded who are now recovering in hospital in the provincial capital, Gitega. "It was time for the first ra-

dio programme to come on the air. I was breast-feeding my child when men came into our house and started shooting. A bullet hit my baby in the back and went through one of my arms. The attackers asked for money. I gave them some clothes and told them I had no money. Then they said, 'Kill her' and I ran away. They fired again and hit me in the other arm. I smeared my face with blood and lay down amongst some dead people outside. That is how I survived." Other witnesses of the dawn

raid on Bugandena say the at-tackers numbered more than 1,000. They say they were rebels from the Hutu majority who have been locked in a bitter and increasingly brutal conflict with the largely Tutsi army.

"When we heard the shooting we thought they were attacking the military post," said one stunned inhabitant. "But then the rebels came to our houses and started shooting. I recognised some of the attackers, they were Hutus, our neighbours from the hills. We know

many of these people." The attackers appear to be Hutu peasants. According to many witnesses, the killers were led by Rwandan Hutus who were apparently members of the former Rwandan army. They carried automatic weapons which they used to mow down

those trying to flee. Relatives of the dead recall that groups of men and women danced and sang as the houses were torched and petrol poured over their terrified occupants.

Dozens of people appear to have been burned alive.

# What got our athletes teache Olymaniant, determination and a Message ll-Do

Second Section

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## Tories hit by fresh sleaze row

**COLIN BROWN and CHRIS BLACKHURST** 

Disclosures last night that a businessman involved in £100,000 supper club raising funds for the Tory party is also linked to a hid for Ministry of Defence estates last night plunged the Government into a renewed row about sleaze and party political funding.

The Prime Minister faced Opposition demands to drop the consortium involving John Beckwith from the hids for the 57,000 MoD married quarters, after it was disclosed he had set up the fund-raising club for the Conservative Party.

The Premier Club seeks do-nations of £10,000 from businessmen, with the promise of providing "opportunities for the positive exchange of views" at dinners with ministers. But

School

ready for grieving

pupils

member, you will be on the list of smaller dinners with the Prime Minister".

A Tory spokesman confirmed last night that Mr Beckwith was hehind the club, but denied there were special favours for paying more. "He set the whole thing up. You do pay these sums, but one sum doesn't guarantee the Prime Minister and another doesn't say you won't see the Prime Minister."

The Central Office spokesman also denied a report in the Observer (although it was backed by a transcript of a taped interview with one of the club's organisers) that donors were advised how to dodge company taw on the disclosure of political donations. They were told that it could be

written off as "entertainment". However, those claims inflamed the row. Robin Cook, the shadow Foreign Secretary,



Peter Beckwith (left) and his brother John

said: "This is the most blatant example of corruption in the history of even this sleazy Government. Businessmen may now be able to huy access and influence by slipping the Tory party a secret hung." Mr Cook said he was writing

to the Prime Minister, calling for Mr Beckwith's consortium to be removed from the list of bidders for the MoD homes. David Clark, the shadow Defence Secretary, said: "This man should not be allowed to bid for of the Beckwith brothers, who made their fortune from the Eighties property boom with their stock market-quoted company, London and Edinburgh

Like his hrother. Peter, he was educated at Harrow School and Cambridge University. Peter trained as a solicitor, John as an accountant, before moving into hig time property. LET enjoyed one of the highest profiles of any property group. cropping up on some of the biggest deals, including the Spi-talfields Market redevelopment in the City of London.

The hrothers both live in south-west London - John is a major benefactor of Harlequins Rugby Football Club - which. ironically is where they hit controversy with their plans for the Richmond Ice Rink, one of the area's hest known land-

John Beckwith is the younger marks. The deal struck between Richmond Council and the Beckwiths was that they could pull down the building. which was badly in need of repair, and use the plum site right by the Thames for their own development - provided they built a rink elsewhere in the

borough. A clause in the contract said the new rink did not need to be built if property conditions went against the brothers. In the eveot, that is what happened. So, to the fury of many locals. the much-loved old rink has gone and a new one has never materialised. Meanwhile, the site of the old rink has been sold

and used for luxury housing. The Liberal Democrat leader, Paddy Ashdown, has written to Mr Major about the Observer's "deeply disturbing" report demanding a Commons

Two die

as last

crashes

complete the manoeuvre. The

noise of the crashwas heard

Two paramedic units and an

emergency fire service unit

were first at the scene of the

crash which occurred in dense

woodland running parallel to

the M62. Debris was strewn

across a field and ocarby wood-

land. Paramedic crews fought

through the fire to reach the

cockpit. They foundthe two bodies and had them flown by

RAF helicopter to Hope Hos-

Michael Edwards, Lan-

cashire Aero Club chairman,

said the tragedy had cast a

shadow over what had been a happy, family event. John Had-field, flight safety officer at

British Aerospace, who owned the plane said that both crew

were dedicated and highly ex-

pital in Manchester.

perienced aviators.

around the airshow.

## SIGNIFICANT SHORTS

Aleaked report shows asylum-seekers may be given Eu.

Aropean-wide rights, including arrangements to guarantee schooling for their children. The inter-governmental report, whose authors include Britain, will fuel the controversy today over a move in the Lords by Lady Williams, the SDP founder, and Opposition peers to restore a three-day period of "grace" in the Asylum Bill for people seeking po-

The vole in the Lords could be close. If the Government litical asylum. is defeated ministers could face a clash between the Lords and the Commons, which has rejected the ameodment. Critics and the Commons which has rejusters they would be bringing the House into disrepute if they seek to avoid defeat by whipping Tory backwoodsmen to save them. Colin Brown

Drug sold at a rave party could be contaminated with "something particularly barmful" and could be highly dangerous, police warned last night. Thousands of people from all over Britain attended the rave at The Sanctuary in Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire, at the weekend and detectives have warned anyone who bought amphetamines at the party to seek medical help if they felt any side effects. Already two partygoers are in hospital in Milton Keynes after taking the drugs and police have arrested a total of 17 people.

Police raided the rave during a planned inquiry and more than 30 officers searched some of the revellers. Detective Chief Inspector John McIntyre said the aim had been to tar-get drug dealers who travel the country selling their wares.

The former star of Riverdance may never dance again after collapsing on stage during a preview of his new show. Michael Flat-ley (right) will know the extent of his injuries at today but it is feared his career could be over after he tore a teg muscle at the Manchester Apollo on Friday night, If his injuries are serious, he will fail to appear on the first night of his new show, Lord of the Dance, which opens tomorrow at the Coliseum in London. An end to his dancing might mean a record insurance payont as he insured his legs two months ago for £25m. Matthew Brace



ABIII to end restrictions on flying the Union Flag is to be introduced in the Commons. Its sponsor, the Tory MP Michael Fabricant, warned that unless acu on was taken then the British flag could end up as an exhibit in a history museum. He said: "It is time for us to show how proud we are of our own country. In the past, the Union Flag has been hijacked by extreme right-wing groups like the National Front. We should now make the Union Flag more available to everyooe to fly in their gardens and at their place of work.

"At the moment, you have to get planning permission before you can even erect a flagpole. Government huildings are allowed to fly the flag only oo 20 days a year, and those have to he special days. We should allow them to fly it whenever they want, namely 365 days a year." The Unioo Flag Bill will come before the Commons next Wednesday.

A row over the use of a Belgian helicopter to rescue a cyclist who fell off a cliff at Dover will leave the Secretary of State for Defence, Michael Portillo, facility, Commons questions. Labour has described the incident as 'demeaning" and the result of the Government's reorganisation of air-sea rescue services. As it happened, the injured cyclist was rescued by a local Kent air amhulance crew of volunteers, but only minutes before the helicopter from Ostend would have arrived at the scene.

David Clark, Labour's defence spokesman, said: "We were only minutes away from the first British casualty on our shores being rescued by a foreign agency. This is an outrageous situation. A Department of Transport spokesman said there had been a review of search-and-rescue provision and a response was being considered.

Acoach plunged down an embankment, overturned in field and left 14 people needing treatment in hospital vesterday, three of them with serious injuries. One passenger lost an arm in the crash at Balloch on Loch Lomondside. A number of people on the single-decker coach managed to scramble free through a hatch on the vehicle's roof. Five passengers were pulled to safety by firefighters. Police said the accident happened as the coach drove south along the A82 road with 51 passengers, most of them holidaymakers from Northern Ireland. Chief Superintendent Kenneth McInnes, of Strathclyde police, said the driver of the coach. who was not seriously injured, had taken a breath test, which was negative. James Cusick

Seven people will share the £9.9 million National Lottery jackpot, the organiser Camelot said. Each ticket-holder will receive £1,426,747 after picking the correct six numbers: 14, 44, 6, 25, 34 and 20, A further 19 will receive £161,736 each after matching five balls plus the bonus number, 45.

#### Mosquito JAMES CUSICK The world's last airworthy Mosquito fighter bomber crashed at an airshow vesterday killing its pilot and navigator. Michael Edwards, secretary of the Lancashire Aero Club, which was sponsoring the air show, said the De Havilland Mosquito, owned by British Acrospace, was the last flying example of its type. The operations manager of Greater Manchester Amhulance, Clive Heather, who was at Barton Aerodrome to provide on-site medical assistance said: "The plane was going through a well-rehearsed rou-tine. Then it climbed higher and higher towards the edge of the airfield before it spiralled." Mr Heather said it became obvious that the aircraft was not going

MATTHEW BRACE

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Friends of Caroline Dickinson. the 13-year-old girl from Launceston, Cornwall, who was raped and murdered in a hostel on a school trip to Brittany, go back to school today for guidance and comfort from counsellors, amid calls for tighter security on such trips.

The Schools Psychological Service in Launceston has mobilised half a dozen counsellors who will be on duty at Caroline's school. Launceston College. Auxiliary members will be standing by. Mike Nicholls, county coun-

cillor for Launceston and chairman of the county's social services committee, said the programme of comfort and support could take six months.

"It depends on who needs counselling. It's not just the children and staff on the trip but all those involved with the school who are affected," he said. He stressed the counselling

was not compulsory. "We haven't heen telling feel it better to talk to friends.

a parish priest or their doctor." Some might be too emoon Saturday night. They were gates.

church in Launceston yesterday morning where the Rev Tim "fathomless grief" of Caroline's

Flags have flown at half mast tionally exhausted to make it to in the Cornish town since the school today. The children were news broke and floral tributes reunited with their parents late have been left at the school's

North Cornwall's MP, Paul

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Independent on Wednesday 24 July 1996 and pay only 10p. It-home delivery customers have until 21 Julyus 1996 to present this vouchar to your newsagent). If you have any problems redeeming your voucher, please call freephone 0800 696 82.

Hessier: Please credit the returning retailer with 32p (ROI 37p) This

held in St Mary Magdalene's Tyler, offered sympathy and kept unlocked as a legal fire added that he will be seeking to meet foreign office ministers "at the earliest opportunity" to mostel in this country would

A friend of the murder victim Caroline Dickinson after a memorial service in Launceston yesterday Photograph: Apex

have had fire doors that could find out more about security in only be opeoed from the the hostel in the Breton village of Pleine-Fougeres were Caro-

line was raped and suffocated in the early hours of Thursday Police believe a man walked in through doors which were

expectation that it would be secure, maybe they were lulled into a false sense of security." er to catching Caroline's killer. They believe the man was an outsider who walked in through the unlocked hostel doors. It is unclear whether a photo-fit image of a bearded man being

"It may be that the adults (in charge of the children] were giv-en the impression that similar types of security were in place shown to this hostel. If they had that suspect.

shown to locals is that of a

## 'Is this a baseball bat which I see before me?"

MATTHEW BRACE

"Ring the alarum bell. Murder and treason!" Macbeth is a

In the latest production of the Shakespearean tragedy, heing made by the BBC, the mur-Scottish general is a drug addict on a run-down inner city council estate.

Macbeth is no stranger to adaptation - in the past he has been played in many guises including a fascist dictator - but this latest version will rekindle the debate over modernising the Bard's works. For her backdrop, the film-

maker Penny Woolcock has returned to the Ladywood estate in Birmingham where she filmed an award-winning documentary. Sliakespeare on the Estate, following director Michael Bogdanov as he rehearsed local residents for open

speare snippets. This time professional actors have stolen the leading rotes demoting residents to mere spear carriers, page boys and other walk-on

Duncan, the nobte King of Scotland in the play, takes on a considerably more corrupt reincarnation as an evil crime baron immersed in a world of drugs and viotence and with a stranglehold on the estate. Woolcock herself will play the

Macbeth is a Temazepam-actdicted estate lout who turns against him on the urgings of his

Woolcock has east aside the swords favoured by the Royal Shakespeare Company reptacing them with basehall bats, the weapons of the Nineties. It is unclear whether "Is this

a haseball bat which I see be-

air performances of Shake- forc me?" will be slipped into the script.

The play's three witches magic themselves into street urchins. Woolcock said the seenario was frighteningly similar to life on the estate. "Nobody has a job, Since it

is impossible for anyone to survive on the dote, money it made illegally," she said. "The local economy, crime and punishment are all con-

trolled by the hard guys. "It all reminded me of Macboth, where feudal warlords slug it out for territory and pow-

Filming for the 90-minute television production is due to start next month on the estate's streets, just 20 miles from Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford-upon-Avon. The finished article will be aired as port of BBC2's Performance series

The pilot, a professional, with many years of flying experience, had flown the place many times and the second

man was also believed to an engineer in charge of looking after it on the ground. Mr Hadfield said the crash had destroyed an important piece of aviation history.

"It is the loss of a unique aircraft." he said. The wooden De Havilland Mosquito was wellknown for its speed and had provided an invaluable service during the Second World War on plioto-reconnaissance missions and as a leader plane for squadrons of Lancashire and Halifax bombers. The wreekage witt be recov-

ered and examined by CAA investigators in an attempt to discover what could have caused its final fatal descent. The identities of the pilot and navigator are being witheld until relatives are informed.

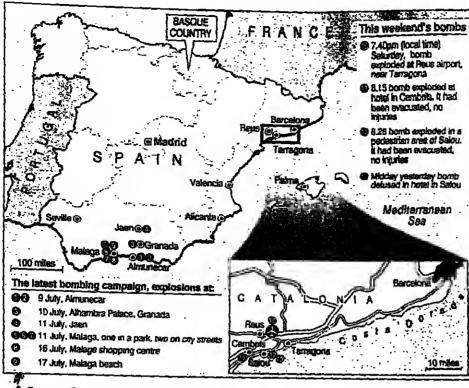
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## Terror campaign shifts to Spanish resort



#### After Saturday's explosion, the discovery of a hotel bomb may test holidaymakers' nerve

JANE WALKER CLARE GARNER

A bomb was discovered in a Spanish holiday hotel yesterday afternoon, as survivors of Saturday night's explosion at Reus airport were still recovering in hospital. The discovery brings to four the number of bombs planted in 24 hours by the

Basque separatist group Eta. Only bours after the blast which caused 34 injuries - 21 of them British - Spanish bomb disposal experts defused a device hidden in a ground floor cloakroom of the three-star Delfin Park Hotel in Salou.

Spanish hotel owners and tour operators admitted they were seriously worried about the repurcussions of the latest bomhing campaign on the tourist trade. But back in Britain, tour operators were playing down the potential impact of the bombs and even tourists caught up in Saturday night's drama were vowing they

would be back before long. "People realise that this can happen just as easily on the streets of London as it can in Spain, Turkey and Egypt," said weeks' holiday. The only big is-

nications director for Thomson holidays, the tour operator through which the injured tourists had booked,

Yesterday, a Lancashire couple described how they missed the airport bomb by a matter of minutes. Safely hack at their home in the tiny village of Billington, near Clitheroe.

Mill worker Eileen Parker. 52, said: "I feel awful and can't believe I'm still alive. You always think it will be someone else until you get caught up in it. I was in Manchester just the day before the bomb went off. They say lighting never strikes twice, but for some people it can."
But despite their ordeal, Mrs
Parker and her husband, Alan.

plan to return to Spain, Alan, 58, who works in a foundry, said: We've been before and we'll go again. There's no way they are going to stop us visiting a place we love.

Richard Grummitt, of Thomas Cook, reinforced the image of the "stiff upper lip" Brit. "Based on previous experience, most people say: "I've booked my holiday and I'm going." The British are pretty resilient. They seem quite determined to have their one or two Exsell Amerasekera, commu- sue we've had was people want- people.

ing to cancel during the British Airways dispute. People thought they wouldn't be able to go on holiday and wanted to make alternative arrange-

Keith Betton, head of corporate affairs at the Association of British Travel Agents (ABTA), said Britons bad a habit of turning a blind eye to trouble spots. Take the Kur-distan Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey. They have been threatening terrorism for the last four years. It affected the German market, but the number of British visitors to Turkey bas doubled. We've had Egypt, where the Islamic fundamen-talists bave fired shots at boats

But he doesn't believe British holiday makers will become "fanatical" about the situation in Spain. "Four and a half million British people go to Spain this summer. Putting it crude-ly, even if four people had got shot dead it's one in a million. Eta attempts to make a lot of noise, a lot of smoke and a few headlines in the papers the next day. We hope that that's the kind of tactic they keep to, rather than aiming to burt

going up and down the Nile. That had a lot more impact. mained intact.

important industry. It is a diversion from its usu-

al strategy. During 30 years of terrorism. Eta has usually gone for military or political targets: blowing up Civil Guard barracks, shooting or car-bombing politicians or military men



## Stubborn separatists keep fire burning

Saturday's attack shows that Eta - Basque Homeland and Freedom - remains both intransigent and all but immune to counterterrorist efforts by Madrid. Only weeks ago, the Spanish government said it was aware that Eta command structures re-

a "civilian" target. It bombed a supermarket in Barcelona, killing 21 and wounding 35. That attack bloodily interrupt-Eta has planted a number of bombs against tourist targets in recent weeks, creating chaos and uncertainty in Spain's most

rapprochement followed years of "dirty war" during the early 1980s, when policemen and civil guardsmen were accused of

dialogue with Eta.

1975, and the new democracy

granted Basques the most gen-

erous degree of autonomy in

Spain - indeed in Europe - Eta

did not let up. It regarded

Madrid's concessions as empty

substitutes for full indepen-

ed attempts by the Socialist gov-

ernment to open up channels of

The government's policy of

Only in 1987 did Eta aim at

 Driven by dogma, Eta shows few signs of ending its

violence, writes Elizabeth Nash cialist ministers are currently up before the Supreme Court, accused of masterminding these undercover hit-squads, and the scandal helped bring down Fe-

lipe Gonzalez's government in

the March elections. Jose Maria Aznar's conservative Popular Party came to power on a hardline anti-Eta platform. Mr Aznar narrowly escaped death in April last year when a huge Eta bomh blew his

caused his popularity to soar, and within the year be was Prime Minister. Eta followed that coup with

a foiled plot to kill King Juan Carlos, a car-bomb that killed six in a working-class Madrid suburb and, during the election campaign, two important po-litical assassinations. The second of these, that of the influential jurist, Francisco Tomas y Valiente, in his study at Madrid University, unleashed an out-

pouring of popular revulsion. When Mr Aznar took power, his deeds were more conciliatory than his earlier words, in deference to conservative Basque nationalists whose suplinked to Basque security. murdering more than 20 Eta armoured car to smithereens. port he needed. He appointed on, and Spain Even after Franco died in suspects. A clutch of former So- He walked calmly from the a respected Basque PP leader, next atrocity.

wreckage, unhurt. His coolness Jaime Mayor Oreja, interior minister, who organised the return of some of the 500-plus Eta prisoners dispersed through-out Spain to jails nearer their homes. This was long an Eta demand, given clout by their kidnapping of a prison officer Jose Ortega Lara in January.

Last month Eta announced a week-long ceasefire, prompt-ing Madrid for the first time in years to talk of opening indirect contacts. But Eta spurned the olive branch, so the government slammed the door. Its operating ability seems unimpaired, resistant to both blandishments and repression. The violence that has claimed more than 800 lives may be expected to go on, and Spain is hraced for the

## 'Diplomatic' advice on travel

CLARE GARNER

If you think Spain is a danger-ous place for a holiday, take a look at the Foreign Office's guide to travelling the world. There is Papua New Guinea, for example, with its "constant threat of danger" or the "cur-rently calm" Casamance region of Southern Senegal where the situation could however change at any time".

You might consider avoiding internal flights in Russia more of a priority ("It's not known wbether aricraft maintenance practices are always property observed") and attempt "desert travel" in Sudan only if you are "fully equipped and experi- fice and describe the informa-

enced". The Foreign Office up-dated its Spanish travel advice to the 10 million Britons due to visit the country this year. The amended version refers to the bomb, but otherwise the advice remains unchanged. Tourists are reminded that the "stated aim" of Eta is to disrupt the tourist industry and told to "report any suspicious bags or

packets to the local police". The Foreign Office travel advice - which warms of potential bazards ranging from po-litical insurgency and diptheria epidemics to pickpockets ~ is available on Ceefax and in travel agents. Tour operators take their cue from the Foreign Of-

dependent".

The travel advice unit of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office advises Britons they "should not attempt to visit" the countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Iraq, Jammu and Kashmir (In-

dia), Liberia, Montserrat, Somalia and Western Sahara. Other countries to be avoided "unless on essential business" are Angolia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, the Central African Republic, Congo, Rwanda and Tajikstan.

The situation in Spain is not yet severe enough to be in the "Be Vigilant" bracket. "Such advice is reserved for visitors to . "They have to be diplomatic."

places like Georgia, where you must "Be vigilant and take sensible precautions against mugging" and Kashmir, where you are told to be "vigilant" and wary of explosions. A Foreign Office spokesman explained: "People should report suspi-cious packages and he aware of the background to the recent terrorist attacks."

Sometimes, bowever, the language can sound a bit under-stated. "They might say 'non-essential trips should be re-considered which is Foreign Of-fice speak for don't go there," said Keith Betton, head of corporate affairs at the Association of British Tourist Travel Agents

## American 'tigers' fire first shot in credit-card war

Four American credit card companies, dubbed the "Four Tigers" have launched an all-out assault on the UK card market, currently dominated by the likes of Barclaycard and Access, by charging initial interest rates of less than 9 per cent.

American credit card specialist MBNA has been mailing selected potential customers with an offer of 8.9 per cent interest for the first six months, with a switch to their standard rate of 18.9 per cent after that. Even MBNA's standard rate,

however, is significantly below the 22.3 per cent charged by Barclaycard. More damagingly for the British high-street banks, the Americans do not charge an annual fee. For instance, Barclaycard charges £10 a year, and NatWest's Mastercard £12.

This, while the UK base rate has fallen to just 5.75 per cent, with inflation at 2.1 per cent. Politicians and consumer the banks for failing to cut credit-card rates in line with falling base rates.

The Monopolies and Mergers Commission investigated whether the four UK highstreet banks were operating a credit-card cartel in the late 1980s. For the previous 20 years Barclays had issued Visa cards, with the other three issuing



The commission's probe withered away when two new issuers, Chase Manhattan and Save & Prosper, issued cards. But the market is still a hot po-

litical potato. However, don't even think about applying for an American card. The tigers operate on an invitation-only basis. They write to people they consider to be good credit risks.

The US companies prefer to keep a low profile, in contrast to Barclaycard's colourful TV advertising campaign starring the comedian Rowan Atkinson.

The Four Tigers have taken large swathes of customers from American high-street banks like Citicorp by concentrating on people with good credit ratings, and offering rock-bottom interest rates. And now the US

turning their sights on the UK market, which they regard as

Industry observers see it as the first concerted attack on the lucrative stranglehold that British banks have had on credit cards. While UK institutions like Save & Prosper have tried to its usual rate of 22 per cent launching low-rate credit cards before, the high-street banks still dominate the market and still charge rates of 22-23 per cent.

One American tiger, Advanta, set up a company in February with Royal Bank of Scotland to offer rates of less than 14 per cent for six months, followed by a standard rate of 15.6 per cent.

Mark Austin, planning and been a phoney war in the UK market is saturated with low-credit-card market for some rate credit cards, the tigers are years now. But the Americans late-payers to the British.

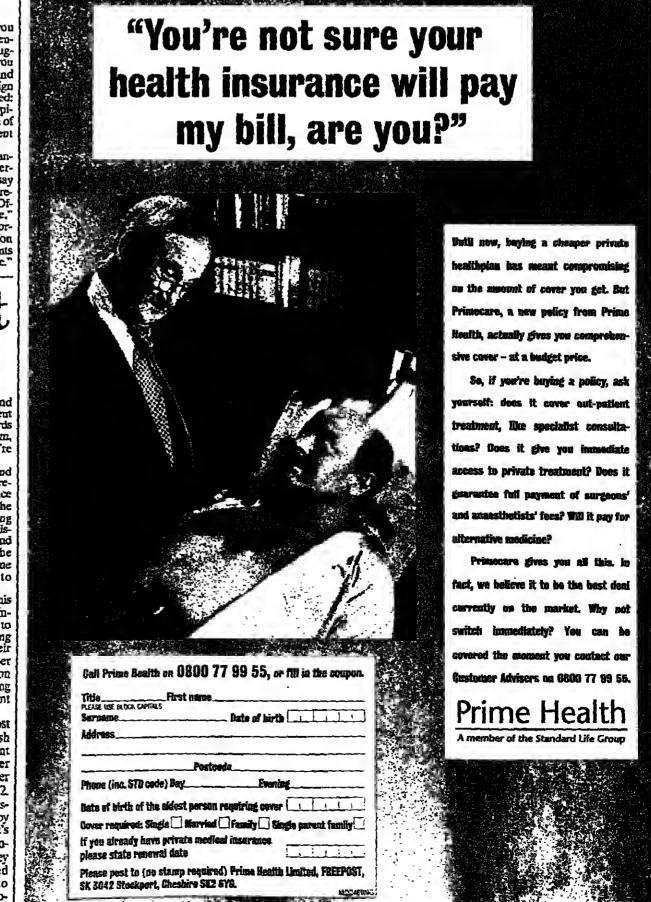
of people who have credit cards in the UK pay interest on them, and it's these people they're

Two companies, MBNA and RBS Advanta, have been re-cruiting heavily in the UK since Christmas. MBNA entered the UK two years ago by linking with a range of British card issuers such as Allied Dunbar and Barnsley Building Society. The two other "tigers", Capital One and First US, are expected to follow suit.

The British have reacted this year by launching their own introductory rates - in reaction to the competition, not to falling base rates, according to their critics. Lloyds is offering 16 per cent for the first six months on its Mastercard, before switching plus a £10 annual fee.

NatWest has been the most adventurous of the British banks by offering a 12 per cent introductory rate. But after that it will still charge 22.7 per cent, plus an annual fee of £12

It is not only wealthy customers that will be targeted by the Americans. RBS Advanta's benchmark is the over-21s earning over £10,000 a year. But they development manager at the all use highly sophisticated RBS Advanta said: "There has credit-scoring databanks to "cherry pick" potential customers, hoping to leave the dodgy





ALISON TAYLOR.

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It may look like a Georgian country residence, but Eastry Court is the oldest house in Britain, Dating from 603 AD, it can claim to be the hirthplace of English Christianity and is on sale for £650,000.

Eastry Court, at Sandwich, Kent is an estate agent's dream, with period charm from the 14th. 16th and 18th centuries. Few houses can boast an "Inner Hall" with flagstone floors and exposed timbers. The Georgian façade conceals an interior which has been adapted

nearly every century. Its biggest selling point is its site, where some of the most dramatic events of the Dark Ages took place. Though only a few bits of the stonework remain. Eastry Court was an Anglo-Saxon palace belonging to the High King Ethelbert of Kent. He

married Bertha, the daughter of the King of Paris, who converted him to Christianity. She brought early Christians to England, including Augustine, the first Archhishop of Canterbury. In the 9th century Ethelred

the Unready gave the house to monks, seeking spiritual aid

came the next King. The owner, Marion Gear. said she would miss it, but added: It's lovely when [the children come back but it's just too

against the marauding Swain Forkbeard. It brought him no luck - Swain's son, Canute, be-





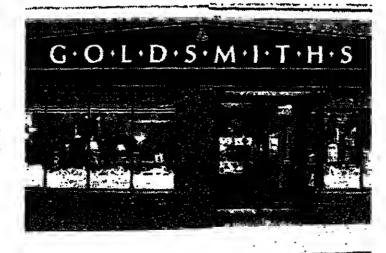
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The first officially appointed Rolex stockists in the UK.

## Housekeeper tells of 3-day crash ordeal

#### REBECCA FOWLER

An Irish housekeeper who cared for a priest for 38 years yesterday described their threeday ordeal trapped in an over-turned car, which ended in tragedy when he died before rescuers reached them.

Nancy Gallagher, 67, and Father Ambrose Woods, 83, from Carlingford in Co Louth, drove to their favourite beauty spot, to view the Mourne mountains where Ms Gallagher grew up. But on their journey home last Monday, the car plunged down a 30ft bank.

As it overturned. Fr Ambrose was thrown through the sunroof, and was trapped from the waist down, while Ms Gallagher fell into the boot area and was also unable to move. They shouted themselves hoarse but their calls were not heard from the remote spot. Without food and water. Fr Ambrose gradually became weaker. Ms Gal-lagher said: "On Tuesday he told me he was on his way out. I told him not to talk hull - that's one of my favourite phrases - then he said 'No Nancy, I'm really going'. He knew I couldn't reach him, so I put my hand on his shoulder and we said a prayer. After praying to the Holy Spirit, and 20 hours into their ordeal, Fr Ambrose died.

Ms Gallagher said she was determined to survive alone because she was anxious to ensure he had a fitting funeral for a priest. Yesterday, her voice still hoarse from shouting, she said: "After we prayed I knew he was gone. It was so frustraling, not be able to do anything for him. For the first time in 38 years I wasn't able to help him



Ordeat: Nancy Galtagher (above) and Fr Ambrose



lagher first went to work for Fr Ambrose in 1959. As a young woman, she had hoped to travel to England to live hut, after an illness, her brother-in-law suggested she went to work for Fr Amhrose, who was looking for a housekeeper. She said: "We were great friends, the best

of friends. I used to argue and shout at him, and he used to raise his eyebrows, laugh and move into the next room and let me get on with it. He always said I had a tempery tongue, because I tend to swear.

The accident last week happened when Fr Amhrose sensed the car behind him was eager to overtake on the steep mountain road. He decided to pull over, but instead of hraking. Fr Ambrose put his foot on the accelerator and the Nissan car fell down the overgrown embankment and landed beside

a tree stump.

Ms Gallagher said: "There was no water in the car, ning. I did think of having a cigarette, because I do sometimes, hut I was worried about the petrol in the car. The main thing we did in the hours before the Father died was praying. Then I dozed off two or three times, and then at last I heard someone saving my name.

Eventually Ms Gallagher's cries were heard, at 6am on Thursday, by Tom Boyle, a local odd-job man who worked for Fr Ambrose. He raised the alarm when the couple went missing, and helped with the

Ms Gallagher was taken to hospital in Dundalk suffering from dehydration. But she returned home this weekend to carry out her wish that Fr Ambrose, who will be buried loday, should have the funeral he deserved.

Despite her sadness at Fr Ambrose's death, Ms Gallagher said: "Since I started working for him, I always prayed he would go first I didn't want him left on his own, with no one to

## Major tries to save loyalist ceasefire

links to loyalist paramilitaries today, amid growing concern that the loyalist ceasefire is in jeopardy, writes Rebecca

John Major will meet a joint delegation from the Progressive Unionist Party, including the leader David Ervine, and from the Ulster Democratic Party, led by Gary McMichael, at Downing Street to discuss the future

of the peace talks. It is understood to be the first time that a British prime minister has held talks directly with the parties who have links to the UDA and UVF paramilitaries which announced a ceaselire six

weeks after the IRA in 1994. Mr McMichael said that he would he calling for a crackdown on the tRA in an anempt to salvage the peace process, following separate requests from both parties to speak to Mr

He said: "It's up to all of us

The Prime Minister will meet situation. But there needs to be march around the city walls in ernment to isolate those republicans who want to agirate and return to violence."

There are also fears that the

lovalist Apprentice Boys' march in Londonderry, on 10 August, will provoke further clashes with nationalists and bring Northern Ireland back to the brink of disaster. Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Secretary of State Northern Ireland, will meet the Apprentice Boys at Stormont in Belfast this week to discuss possible routes for the parade, which ended in widespread violence in 1969 at the beginning of the Troubles.

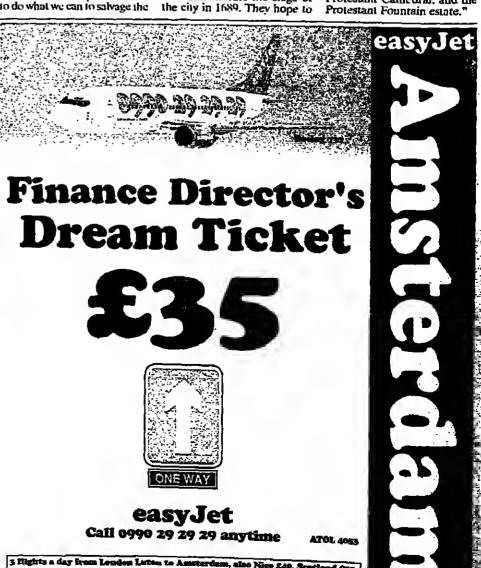
Even last summer, when, following the cease lire, the parade returned to its traditional route around the city walls for the first time in 25 years, violence broke between loyalists and nationalists.

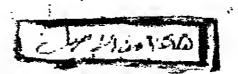
More than 15,000 loyalists are expected to attend the parade to commemorate the siege of the city in 1689. They hope to

city centre for a church service at St Columb's Cathedral in the afternoon. Most likely flashpoints are with Protestants on the Fountain estate, and with Catholics from the Bogside estate. Talks between loyalists and the nationalists who live there are understood to have hroken down

At rallies in Londonderry last weekend nationalists also spoke of blockading the Craigavon Bridge to keep the parade out of the city. Gregory Camp-bell, a DUP member and an Apprentice Boy, said: "What cannot be up for negotiation is the right of the Apprentice Boys, who live and work in the city, to parade along the city's

He added: "Nor the right of the Apprentice Boys to come into the city-centre side of the river where they have their headquarters, where there is a Protestant Cathedral, and the





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## Peru stunned by military aid to drug cartels

Callao - The President's custom-fitted DC-8 jetliner sat on the tarmac, engines running, all set for an important trip to Europe. President Alberto Fujimori was not on board for this one, just a Peruvian Air Force crew who told their mechanics they were on a "secret mission". They were not lying - but it was hardly an affair of state.

The aircraft never got off the ground. Out of nowhere at Air Force Base Number 8, in the port of Callao next to Lima's international airport, Peruvian police and senior air force officers surrounded the jet and began an on-board search. Behind the wall panels, where the President's hodyguards often sit. they found more than 380lb of pure processed cocaine, worth around £4.5m on the street.

The discovery, on 12 May, was just one of many drug hauls in recent weeks which stunned Peruvians because of officers had been prosecuted by military courts in receot years for involvement in narcoticstrafficking but the other branches of the armed forces were widely thought to be clean.

The navy has ordered a search of all its warships and cargo vessels after two naval cargo vessels were found to be carrying cocaine earlier this month. one at Callao, the other docked in Vancouver, Canada.

Each had over 100th of co-caine on board, hidden in the engine room or in the funnel. enough to make a few naval

Army, navy and air-force personnel are helping druglords. Phil Davison reports

coca paste and refined cocaine cafes and stores, although it is out of Peru on behalf of Colom-illegal in the US. bian druglords feeling the heat from US-backed anti-narcotics sweeps in their own country.

Sixteen air-force officers or technical personnel, including one of Mr Fujimori's elite group of pilots, were detained after the cocaine haul on the presideo-tial aircraft, which had apparently been due to stop in the US and both Western and Eastern Europe. Some of the detainees said the same plane - one of at least two used by the president - had shipped cocaine several times in the past, including when Mr Fujimori was on board but without his knowledge, ac-

cording to police sources.
"I don't deny that there's beco infiltration [in the armed forces by drug mailas] at some the involvement of the air force levels hut capturing that and navy. More than 200 army amount of cocaine is good news," Mr Fujimori said after the seizure.

After the military suppression of the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrillas in the early Nineties, army troops set up bases in isolated mountain and jungle areas and often took on one of the guerrillas' hucrative roles - taking "quotas" from druglords to protect their coca fields, laboratories or shipments, according to anti-nar-

cotics agents here, Peru is the world's biggest producer of coca leaf, the ha-sis for coca paste and ulti-

Whereas Peruvian gangs have long made coca paste from the leaf and shipped it to Colombian cartels for chemical refining in Colombian laboratories, the Colombians have themselves recently moved south to set up labs within Peru. "Recent crackdowns in Colombia have made things tighter up there," said one anti-narcotics agent here. "Now, it's easier for the Colombians to set up down here, in isolated mountain and jungle areas, refine their product on the spot and ship it directly to the US or Europe. "All they have to do is get chemicals in and their shipments out. That's where pay-offs to the military come in."
The agent said recent anti-

narcotics sweeps on both sides of the Peru-Colombia border have led to a doubling of smug-gling from the Iquitos area in northern Peru, east along the Amazon, often by speedboat, into Brazil. Former Shining Path guerrillas are among smugglers who pay local peas-ants to carry the drugs across the jungle border.

A Brazilian woman, two Colombian men and two Peruvian policemen were among a gang of 25 smugglers arrested in Lima and Iquitos at the weekend. More than 460 pounds of cocaine paste was seized by anti-narcotics police officers very rich.

The recent seizures suggestcd army, air force and navy personnel were helping to ship both

mately the refined powder, with
a harvest last year of 183,000
coca (tea from the coca (tea from the coca leaf) is widely available in

who said the gang was led by a
Colombian drugiord who operated in his own country and
who was still at large.



Regal touch: The 17th-century statue of King Zygmunt III Waza being removed from a column in front of the Royal Castle in Warsaw for restoration Photograph: AFP

## SIGNIFICANT SHORTS

A North Korean agent in disguise as a Filipino professor has taught in a South Korean university since the 1980s, the government's main spy agency said vesterday. Mohamad Kanso, an assistant history professor at Seoul's Dankook University, was arrested early this month on charges of illegally communicating with North Korea Mr Kanso was accused of reporting by fax to North Korea on US and South Korean policies on North Korea and US military deployments in the south. AP - Secut

Russian troops pushed ahead with an attack on a rebel base in Chechnya's southern mountains, but said bad weather hampered their operations. Two army engineers were killed when they were hit hw rebel fire on the second day of the offensive against the base near Shatoi, the federal command said, AP - Growy

Notes of food and more than one million bottles of mineral water to a city swamped by floods in the south-west of the country. Only a few areas of high ground in the city of Liuzhou in Guangri province escaped the flooding after the water tevet of the Liujiang river surged to its highest mark this century. "The whole city is under water," a city government official said. Reuter - Peking

President Nelson Mandela's recent official visit to France has revived speculation in South Africa about his love life. The Johannesburg Sunday Times reported to while in Paris, Mr Mandela met at least three times with Graca Machet, a UN official and widow of a former Mozambican president. Their meetings included a lunch in President Mandela's suite at the state guest house, and dinner with a small group of friends at the residence of Barbara Masekela, South Africa's Ambassador to France, the paper said. It added that Ms Machel flew to South Africa with the President on his official jet when his four-day visit ended last Thursday. AP - Johannesburg

Agents that asks Palestinian journalists about their political backgrounds and whether their relatives have ever been accused of spying has drawn strong criticism. Circulated amoog Palestinian reporters in the Gaza Strip, it asks such questions as: "Do you belong to a political party?", and, "Name your close relatives and friends". The Arab Journalists Association called on reporters not to fill out the form. "It is not acceptable to deal with the Palestinian journalist as a spy," said Mohammed Dawoudi, an official of the organisation, AP - Jerusalem

Aprison inmate on hunger strike has died, a human Arights official said – the first fatality among 1,500 leftist and Kurdish inmates fasting throughout Turkey since May to protest against prison conditions. The inmate, Aygun Ugur, was a member of the banned Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, and had been on hunger strike at the high-security Umraniye jail for 63 days, said Ibrahim Varol, an official of Turkey's independent Human Rights
Association. "We expect more deaths," he said. Ugur's death came two weeks after Turkey's new Islamic-inspired government cancelled strict new prison policies in an effort to end the hunger strikes. AP - Istanbul

The son of the late Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos attacked a US jury's \$22bn (£14bn) judgment against his family as absurd, saying it implied that the Marcoses had twice as much gold as there was in Fort Knox. Renter - Manila

arange as he prepared to hand over a scooter to a gang of thieves was in a coma and doctors described him as clinically dead. Reuter - Naples

Dubai's oldest man has died at the age of 136. Long walks and a diet of quait and bread helped the retired mosque preacher Ali Matar hin Ghurair reach his advanced age, Dubai papers said at the weekend. He is survived by t03 grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and one of his sons is 98. The Guinness Book of World Records recognises Frenchwoman Jeanne Calment as the oldest person in the world with a hirth certificate proving she is 121. Reuter - Dubai

## Nixon diary damns Clinton as cowardly adulterer



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ARTHUR SPIEGELMAN

New York - Richard Nixon thought Bill Clinton a "slippery" character who got away with adultery and behaved like a cowardly spoiled brat during the Vietnam War, according to excerpts from a new book by a close aide to the former president, released yesterday.

But the book, Nixon Inplugged excerpted in the New Yorker magazine, says Nixon came to admire Mr Clinton as President, partly because the Democrat treated him with respect, inviting him hack to the White House from which he was forced in disgrace in 1974.

The book, by Monica Crow-ley, Nixon's foreign-policy as-First Lady Hillary Clinton, dismissing her as a potentially erous radical loci loveless marriage.

The one person who emerges with Nixon's unqualified praise is the Republican Party's prospective presidential candidate, Bob Dole, who Nixon calls the only one in "the country who can lead. He is by far the smartest politician - and Republican - in the country today."

Ms Crowley went to work for Nixon in 1990 when she was 21 years old and stayed until he died in 1994. She accompanied him to Russia and Asia, sitting

state. Without Nixon's knowlsistant, said Nixon detested edge, she kept a diary of their financial gain and abuse of powconversations.

Nixon thought Mr Clinton Crowley: "You know, this is really something. This guy didn't just have a fling he had a 12-year affair. He's a repeat offender, and as governor no less.

"That's arrogance of power! But I still don't think it will destroy him. He's too slippery to have anything like this stick. And, as far as Hillary is concerned ... She's a radical. If she gets in, whoa! Everybody will

have to fasten their seat belts." Nixon showed no sympathy presidency. I know why he did

in on his talks with heads of venture, which has bounted the what he did to dodge the draft: Clintons. "Here you have he didn't want to get his ass shot off," Ms Crowley quoted Nixon er ... and nothing is done. And as telling her in 1992, adding: here was Hillary on [Nixon's] "He is a coward and a fraud.

> impeachment con when it needed him, so why and-a-half minutes [gap on a should we have him serve it crucial tape recording) and now when he is ready? ... When he she's in Little Rock shredding." evaded the draft, he cheated the Nixon held Mrs Clintoo in country and the people whose votes he is asking for ... He was special contempt because she no conscientious objector, he was a selfish, spoiled brat." worked for the House committee that considered impeaching

forgiving toward Mr Clinton for avoiding service during the Vietnam War. "I cannot believe this guy is a serious contender for the

The former president added: him. He was also harsh and un-"He made my job harder and be sent God knows how many men to their deaths in his place. I'll tell you, if he is elected president, I will know this country has finally gone to hell."

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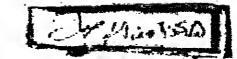
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Italy's TV sleaze comes

out of the box

ANDREW GUMBEL

Perhaps it was inevitable that

the sleaze that oozes out of Ital-

ian television screens would begin to stick to the presenters

and programme-makers. The semi-naked women, had game

shows and voyeuristic exercis-

es in humiliation that pass for

small-screen family entertain-

ment were the subject of no fewer than three criminal inves-

promoted personal friends to

take part in variety show con-

tests; and allowed himself to be

bribed when picking contes-tants for this year's San Remo

One particularly squalid pro-

gramme, Telecamere n richieste

- "TV cameras on request", a sort of Candid Camera in which

husbands-to-be are secretly filmed being chatted up by ac-

tresses to test their fidelity - was being pursued for inciting vio-

lence after one "guest" lost his temper once the trick was re-

vealed, and knocked his would-

ty teenage girls adorning virtu-

ally every programme, from

Sunday afternoon variety shows

to evening satires on current events, are being systematical-

ly abused for sexual favours and

"traded" among producers and personalities to pay off favours within both the state and the pri-

According to magistrates

working out of Biella in north-

western Italy, girls as young as 15 are forced to have sex with

talent scouts and their friends

as the price for getting onto the

small screen. Valerio Merola, a

talent scout who works for Silvio Beriusconi's Italia Uno channel, has just spent 10 days

in custody on charges of pimp-ing and sexual violence. Gigi Sa-

vate broadcasting system.

be seducer to the ground: Most damaging, though, were allegations that the pret-

music festival.

# FICANT SHORT Israel and Hizbollah swap their dead

ROBERT FISK Kfar Tibnit, southern Lebanon

The Israeli dead went home in

the morning, in steel coffins reverently placed on a German military aircraft for the brief

flight to Tel Aviv. The Hizbollah dead came home in cheap wooden hoxes, bouncing in the back of 17 construction lorries, to be pushed anud screams of grief into more than 100 black, white and brown hearses that were parked amid the hot olive gewes of southern Lehanon.

In a country where the dead always come first, it was prohably inevitable that the living prisoners - 17 members of Israel's proxy militia in southern Lehanon, and 45 immates of the notorious, Israeli-run Khiam jail - were still waiting to be liberated at duck

There were family mourners in Israel for Rahamin Al-Sheikh and Yosef Fink, the two Israeli soldiers wounded and captured in a Hizbollah ambush inside Lebanon in 1986, both of whom died in captivity. And there were thousands of Hizbollah men and grieving families for the 123 "martyrs" when their bodies were unloaded from the trucks, some youths even fighting each other in their rage on top of the coffins.

Many of the dead were killed in Hizhollah's human wave attacks on Israeli occupation troops in the late 1980s, though others had been killed recently enough for the mourners to cover their faces with handkerchiefs

as the trucks drove past.
If there was grief in both Israel and Lebanon, there was at least some triumph for the German security services who - of all people - had brought about this extraordinary, if gruesome, body-swap. The close relationship between Bernd Schmidhauer. Chancellor Kohl's security adviser, and the heads of the Iranian secret service - a spanection forcefully confemned by Israel last year - was found to be of use by the Israelis after all. It enabled Mr Schmidauer to bring Iranian and Syrian intelligence authorities together in Damascus before confirming that the exchange of hodics and prisoners could

Following newspaper reports

that hundreds of Palestinians

were coming to the main Jerusalem rubhish dump each

day to scavenge for food and

junk to sell, the Israeli govern-

ment has moved swiftly to

tackle the problem - in its own

way. Two heavily armed Israeli

guards who live in a settlement

have now been posted at the

in the West Bank city of Hehron have now been posled at the nomic crisis in the West Bank

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STEPHANIE NOLEN

during Israel's April bombardment of Lebanon, the new Ger-man initiative has again brought a European Union nation into Middle East peace-making, in however minor a role,

Mr Schmidbauer's own personal role is also intriguing. In 1992, he was instrumental in freeing two German hostages. Heinrich Struebig and Thomas Kempner, who had been kidnapped by the family of a man imprisoned in Germany for hijacking on American TWA jet to Beirut in 1985, Again, Mr Schmidbauer used Iranian intelligence officers to complete the releases after Syria gave its consent to the negotiations.
It may not have been by

chance that an Iranian television crew was filming the convoy of hirries as it carried the Hizbollah dead across the Israeli occupation line yesterday aflermoon.

But the exchanges were not without potentially grave prob-lems. The 45 prisoners from Khiam - some of whom had been held for more than 10 years without trial, and three of whom were women - were kept waiting in buscs through the midday heat because the Israelis found that it was, in the words of one officer, "taking longer than we thought" to transfer 123 coffins from Israeli lorries to trucks hired by the Red Cross, The corpses had been interred in northern Israel.

Then the Red Cross, which had earlier supervised the removal of the two Israeli bodies from the Bir al-Abed suburb of the capital to Beirut airport, suddenly discovered that the 17 members of the Israeli-paid "South Lebanon Army" who were to be sent back to Israel's occupation zone didn't want to return. They sat in the Red Cross cars just west of the front lines, staring at the quizzical and not entirely friendly -Hizbollah men looking at them intently through the vehicle windows, two of them in tears.

All said they wanted to remain in Beirut; the SLA had stated a few hours earlier that washed by the Hizbollah, a claim which lost none of its force when Hizbollah's own

entrance to the dump, to keep out would-he scavengers - and,

especially, foreign journalists.

away," said Ali Hamdan, 40,

who travels from Hehron him-

self each day to search for

scrap metal and old clothes to

sell. "But mostly the guards are

here because of the journalists.

They really don't like the jour-nalists." The Independent first

reported the crowds at the

dump two weeks ago, in a

They are here to keep us



Happy day: Laita Baalbakl with her brother Issam, freed after a hody-swap with the Hizboltah

general secretary, Sayed Hasan militia units or stay in Beirut.

problem by allowing the SLA prisoners to travel, three at a time, to their former colleagues television station showed each on the Israeli lines, and to of dozens of mobile telephones of the 17 prisoners kissing the announce whether or not they in the hands of the still living After French intervention forehead of the Hizhollah's wished to go back to their Hizbollah men.

bombings in Israel in February

Until last week, up to 800

and March.

Back in the olive fields, there coffins in a clearing ringed by black flags and weeping women, interrupted only by the tinkling

cavengers meet swift response and Gaza Strip, caused by the Israelis having closed those areas. Most of the people at the garbage heap, but largely ignore them. Their presence at dump used to work in Israel, bethe gates, he said, has been fore the closure was imposed enough to keep most people

> food in the garbage. "I guard the Arabs, to make sure they don't take anything." people were coming to the dump each day. Now, only 30 or 40 people plough through the Independent. Then, fingering refuse; they sneak in over the the trigger on his massive hills to the south to avoid the machine gun, he added: "You guards. Mr Hamdan said that should go away, too. Right the guards periodically wave ouw.

children who used to hunt for

following a series of suicide away, especially the crowds of

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can rinse out your arteries if it is not full of harmful stomach and trim your waist, you need to know impurities. In a recent book Alexis Amziev explains how a natural diet can signifi cantly improve anerial prob-lems. Recent observations show that the traditional 'anti-cholesterol' diets fail to clean out the arteries property. It would appear, for example, that butter eaten in reasonable quanti-

exercise routine that takes

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#### flurry of witnesses, including several of the girls themselves, depicts unholy power games in which would-be models are co-erced into squalid assignations in hotel rooms, then dumped and forgotten as often as they are helped up the career ladder. One witness, Mr Sabani's former chauffeur, has suggest-ed that television executives

bani, a well-known presenter,

is under house arrest, and Gianni Boncompagni, a producer, is being formally investigated.

The evidence produced by a

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tigations this weekend, sug-gesting the existence of a seamy have passed the girls around their friends in exchange for underbelly beneath the shiny teeth and glittery swimsuits. cash, and even offered them to Italy's most famous television presenter, Pippo Baudo, was being bombarded with allegations politicians with an interest in broadcasting, as a form of bribe. The newspapers are dubbing the scandal varietopoli, in an of unethical hehaviour, including suggestions that he rigged a New Year tombola draw that was broadcast live to the nation;

echo of the ungentopoli inves-tigation into policial bribery a few years ago, and are rubbing their hands in anticipation of more revelations. But the chauffeur, Giuseppe Pagano, has yet

to name names in public.

Mr Merola, mterviewed shortly after his release from jail yesterday morning, did not deny having sexual relations with his protegées but insisted there was nothing criminal about his behaviour. He described one liaison, with a 15-year-old from Modena who has accused him of rape, as "intense but hrief".

The case has prompted an extraordinary outpouring of views that reflect not only Italy's attitude to its small-screen en-tertainment but also its feelings about show business, women with careers, and sex in general. While Catholic groups have denounced the moral turpitude of the entertainment business, one prominent broadcaster has argued that weird serual practices have been the hallmark of artists down the centuries and are thus a vital part of western culture.

The mother of one model insisted the scandal was the fault of the girls themselves. "Let's be honest," she said. "Sometimes it is the girls who are the provocarriet, and the men - well, they are just men." This did not, of course, include her daughter, a showgiri called Alessia Gioffi, whom she described as a young woman of "healthy principles".

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this disaster come to light. On Wednesday, the explosion of the Boeing 747 jumbo jet over the Atlantic Ocean scattered wreckage over a wide area that may turn out to encompass 500 square miles to depths of between 100 feet and

To complicate matters further the weather has been variable - at times foggy, at times rainy - and the seas have been choppy to rough. Diving for wreck-

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Evidence which, if they are skillful and fortunate, too, may provide them with sufficient bottom," said Robert Francis, clues lobe able to announce the the NTSB vice-chairman headprobable cause of the disaster.

By yesterday, despite a massive deployment of resources, 130 bodies remained unaccounted for, and of the 100 bodies recovered, only 23 had been positively identified. Only one per cent of the aircraft itself had

The two black boxes containing the flight data recorder and the cockpit voice recorder. have not yet been located. The aircraft's fuselage, which, in-

though. They have found a trail of material on the [ocean]

ing on-site investigations. Despite the lack of evidence, investigators have made it plain in their public statements, and in their off-the-record asides to reporters, that they believe TWA 800 was downed by a bomb. "The chances that this was a mechanical failure are slim," said Jim Kallstrom, the director of the FBI joint antiterrorist task force investigating the crash. "The least likely

thing, minus the forensics

side knowledge than most what has become conventional informed opinion.

There is no previous exam-

ple of a complete and instantaneous catastrophe involving a 747 that was not a bomb," Mr Irving said. "If it had been a structural failure the degree of disintegration would not have been so sudden, especially if you take into account the sheer size of the 747."

But the means employed by the presumptive "cowards", in Mr Kallstrom's words, to blow up the aircraft, remain at this stage an unfathomable mys-

metal box containing trans-plant organs. A box of this type would not have been subjected to the same electronic scrutiny as, say, the average suitcase.

Another idea is that the aircraft was shot down by a landto-air missile, fired either from the Long Island shore or from a small boat.

One alternative suggestion is that a terrorist in Athens placed inside the jet a bomb that managed to escape detection all along the route - during the five-hour period up toTWA 800's arrival in New York, and prior to, and after, its departure on the fateful flight to Paris. Per-

died in the disaster care little about what, or who, caused the crash. Much less do they wish to turn their attention to that other subject of keen interest to the news-bereft media at the moment - how to prevent

future calamities. The heart-rending priority of the families and friends now standing helplessly by, is to recover and identify the bodies of their loved ones - to begin their mourning and to give the dead decent burials.

But even that accepted consequence seems as though it will

roles, sex education, the whole family values thing - "at bottom it's all about sex"

"It's why Clinton is such a controversial President," he continues, as two elderly women moved away from his table at a Seattle sandwich bar. You can perceive that this is a man who might actually enjoy sex. Bush and Reagan were sort of sexless. The last president who went for it was Kennedy. Seattle, the Pacific Rim port

stone's throw from the Cana-

dian border, has earned a reputation in recent years as America's hippest city. Cali-fornians have headed there in droves, abandoning perpetual sunshine for weather that is arguably worse than Britain's. Mr Savage dismisses it as provincial and dud. The clubs that gave birth to grunge rock are closed for refurbishment, he says. The cappuccino bars on every corner, in the home city of the Starbucks chain, are becoming passé. Even the heroin

scene is overblown, he says.
This spring, however,
Newsweek magazine devoted a cover story to the lures of Seattle. It named Dan Savage, sex-advice columnist and drag queen, as one of the city's most influential people, alongside Microsoft billionaire Bill Gates and the Mayor, Norm Rice.

Mr Savage's column, Savage Love, is billed as a gay man's answers to the sex problems of straight people. It appears in a local weekly, the Stranger, and in 16 alternative newspapers nationwide, including the Village Voice in New York, and the Chicago Reader, with a combined readership of over a million. He receives about 150 letters a week, some from as far away as Australia and Israel, and usually addressed: "Hey, Straight people need gays to

mide them on non-procreative sex, he says. Straight sex is simply a matter of "put tab A in slot B". Gay men and women by contrast have to address their sexual desires, and how to fulfil them, from an early age. The Americans' attitude to

and weird. Sex education is

No 26: Dan Savage

as a pleasurable pursuit. "It's like teaching people how to drive by teaching them the workings of the internal combustion engine," he said. "They take the

car out and smash it into a wall." His column, while mostly unprintable in a family newspaper, and often offensive, is iso moralistic. In five years, be boasts, "I have raised a whole generation of young women to insist on their right to orgasm,

In a recent Seattle poll he was easily voted the city's favorite columnist. His lerm for straight people - "breeders" - has entered the local lexicon.

Once a month Mr Savage hosts gay bingo, in drag, for about 500 people, to raise funds for Aids victims. The event has been sold out every evening since he started calling the numbers three years ago.

Seattle's deputy mayor recently presented him with a sequinned T-shirt as thanks for his campaign for a local park. He has a Sunday night radio show, is in demand as a speaker at local universities, and recently signed on with a publisher for a two-book deal on sex and

In New York, the 31-year-old Mr Savage might be lost in the wash. In Seattle, he stands out. The son of a Chicago police-man, from an Irish Catholic family, he once studied for the priesthood and worked for two years in Britain waiting tables.

This spring. Mr Savage joined the local Republican Party. By standing unopposed for the office of Precinct Committee ... Officer, he found himself a delegate at the county convention on the Pat Buchanan slate. He then hijacked an event that drew 1,600 local Republicans with a string of amendments to write support for same-sex marriage and the repeal of sodomy laws into the party platform. chronicling the ensuing mayhem in his column. "It's how the Christian Right took over the sex, he says, is both immature Republican Party," he said. "All they did was just go."

Tim Cornwell



Pedal-powered dragon: The 'Dragoons' team propel their kinetic sculpture through the streets of Corvallis, Oregon, in the DaVinci Days parade Photograph: Tony Overman/AP | tubes and urethras, instead of

## **Artists' courage withers** in Big Brother's shadow

Hong Kong

"If you're scared, don't come in," says the sign at the entrance to an exhibition of cartoons by Zunzi, Hong Kong's best known and most controversial cartoonist. The sign seems exag-gerated. After all, inside the exhibition hall there is nothing more than a series of cartoons.

However, outspoken cartoonists are an endangered species in Hong Kong. Only a handful of artists produce political cartoons and few publications will carry their work. The dark shadow of China's

rule, which begins next year, hangs over cartoonists as it does over many others who are likely to be regarded as dissidents. Larry Feign, an Amer-ican who has been drawing

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cartoons in Hong Kong for more than a decade, says he is demoralised. He claims newspapers will only publish cartoons which "take no sides and express

no opinions' This is not Feign's style. Last year he was fired by the South China Morning Post newspaper, where he had a big following, on account of his "Lily Wong" cartoon strip. It was killed off after a possibly prophetic strip about killings of cartoonists.

China has long recognised that cartoons are a valuable political weapon, although political cartoons started to emerge in China only about 60 years ago, during the Sino-Japanese war. The Chinese Communist Party quickly grasped the value of this medium; many officials in charge of arts matters in China are former cartoonists.

China's tradition of political cartoons is not one of belly laughs. It draws on a knowledge of Chinese history and philosophy, presenting ideas as allegories. This makes the cartoons impenetrable for non-Chinese

readers. Zunzi says he tries to be funny. He stresses that his main aim "is to give my opinion, and if I can change society to a more liberal society, that would he great. But he dislikes the idea of imposing his views on the readers, saying he really wants to make people think for themselves.

In China itself cartoonists are restrained, although Feign be-lieves they "can go a little further than anyone else" in

expressing controversial views. He recalls the furore about seven years ago, when a cartoon was published which showed the Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, playing bridge and smoking, using the traditional cartoonist's technique of exaggerating his features. Nowadays a caricature of this kind could scarcely be

As for Zunzi, his stock in trade is making fun of Chinese leaders. After the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, he published a particularly savage cartoon, showing Mr Deng and the Chinese Prime Minister, Li Peng, sitting in an actor's dressing room, applying bloody-look-ing lipstick. Mr Deng is seen reading a script entitled "The World's Greatest Leader", while on the floor a democra-

cy protester is dying. Zunzi does not spare British leaders. The former governor, David Wilson, was depicted as a colonial buffoon in a feathered cap. Chris Patten, the current Governor, is usually shown as a fat man who is bewildered by

his surroundings. How long does Zunzi think he can get away with his style of work? "It depends entirely on the political situation", he says. "We can see that the situation is becoming worse in the field



Risky business: Zunzi shows China's premier, Li Peng, as an ape (above); a pen makes a stand for freedom

newspapers are changing their attitude towards China. More and more newspapers are reluctant to use political

So, will be tone down his cartoons? "I don't think it's necessary to use cartoons as a lands in jail, Zunzi says: "I'll means of earning a living", he draw on the walls of the jail".

of freedom of speech. A lot of says. "If I can't publish in the newspapers, I won't squeeze myself by drawing things I don't like". He says he would be happy to switch to the Internet, or to producing banners for protesters. And if all these avenues are blocked and he

## Politics is deadly subject in world of Arab despots

**CHARLES RICHARDS** 

It is no laughing matter, being a political cartoonist in the Arab world. Earlier this month, Chawki Lamari, a cartoonist on the Algerian French language daily, La Tribune, was arrested at home and hauled off to Serkaji, a top-security prison which gained notoriety after 100 Islamist prisoners were killed when the authorities re-estab-

lished order after a riot.
Publication of La Tribune
was suspended. Police took in the publisher of the newspaper, Kheireddine Ameyar, and the editor, Baya Gacemi, for questioning. A judge later ordered them to report to the police twice a week. The three men will stand trial together on 29 July. The issue was a carroon

showing Algerian flags strung between houses along a street. One asks: "Is this for 5 July?" (Algerian Independence Day, a date central to the armed forces' claim to legitimacy). An examining magistrate ruled that the cartoon was in

breach of Article 160 of the Penal Code. This stipulates prison terms of 5 to 10 years for anyone who deliberately and publicly tears up, defaces or defiles the national symbol".

A statement by the Algerian ournalists union, the Assemhiée Générale des Journalistes, which denounced the legal

proceedings, said the move would not stop journalists from "continuing their struggle until their colleague Amari is released and legal action against

La Tribune dropped".
In some respects the case was distinctively Algerian. But the case is symptomatic of the dangers cartoonists face when they cross the line in ridiculing the authorities in an Arab world ruled largely by despots.

The golden age of the political caricature was the prerevolutionary period in Egypt. This permitted Egyptian irrevcrence for authority and satirical genius to find expression in weekly news magazines. The British were easy targets, but so were the political leaders, al-

though the king was off-limits. Nasser's coup in 1952 banned parties and limited freedom of expression. Thereafter the number of subjects which could be tackled in the press without risking the censor's blue pencil (or

worse) shrank. Today Egyptian cartoonists can allude to corruption in high places, which cannot be proved hut which everyone knows about, more easily than can columnists, who would have to name names. In a culture where the rate of illiteracy is high, cartoons still have great power.

Censors are well attuned to the influence that a wellwrought political caricature

may exert. Such was the popu-larity of the Moroccan satirical magazine Akhbar al-Suq (News from the Market) that it was banned.

In the most celebrated case, the Palestinian cartoonist, Naji Ali, was gunned down in London in 1987, apparently for alluding to Yasser Arafat's Egyptian mistress.

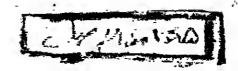
In some parts of the Middle East, editors commission cartoonists to send a message they dare not convey in writing. The freest Arabic press is now found in London, although most of it is owned by Saudi interests which do not tolerate discussion

of subjects sensitive to them. Jihad al Khazen, editor of Al-Hayat, says that when the paper was published in Beirut "the tradition was that the editor and the cartoonists would discuss ideas together". Since the paper moved to London, the cartoonists' consultation with the editor has diminished.

Although there is no heavyhanded political authority exercising the censor's scissors. the ownership of the paper instills a measure of self-censorship which ensures that no anti-Saudi material is covered.

"We deal overwhelmingly with Arab political issues, such as Israel's attack on south Lebanon, not with domestic terrorism, human rights, or democracy," he says.

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## Harman boost in Shadow elections

**COLIN BROWN** Chief Political Correspondent

Harriet Harman's chances of securing her seat in the Shadow Cahinet were given a boost yesterday by John Prescott, the deputy leader of the Labour Party. Mr Prescott has given his full backing for the Shadow Cahinet "slate" to be voted in during Wednesday's elections to avoid giving ammunitition to the Tories with splits in the party.

Mr Prescott gave a clear lead to the party's left-wing to vote for the status quo and avoid rocking the boat, The Independent learned that one left-wing challenger, Irene Addams, had dropped out of the race, giving Ms Harman, the shadow health spokeswoman, a freer run.

"I was going to stand but I thought there was going to be a whole card of candidates. What I was not going to do is stand alone. It would be seen only as a challenge to Harriet Harman which it never was," said Ms Addams.

Ms Harman's only challenger now will be Ann Clwyd, who is backed by the Campaign Group of left-wing Labour MPs. The "status quo" slate to be re-elected, said Mr Prescott, would include Jack Cunningham, following the standing down of overseas development spokeswoman Joan Lestor.

Labour leader, Tony Blair, and Mr Prescot, have met frontbenchers to seek their support for the "status quo" slate, recognising that the move could deny some shadow ministers the chance of a place in the first Labour cabinet for 18 years.

Mr Prescott was instrumental in persuading the leadership to go ahead with the elections showed that the Tories were for ing in their own priorities.

and for implementing the strat-egy 10 avoid damaging battles for places in the Shadow Cabinct in the election run-up.

Ms Harman's decision to send her son to a grammar school caused the backlash that now threatens her place on the Shadow Cabinet. If Ms Harman were dropped, critics argue. Mr Blair would come under renewed attack for choosing to send his son. Euan, to the London Oratory, an opted-out school, and yet more criticism for thinking of sending his sec-ond son, Nicky, now aged nine, to the same school. "It makes sense for the younger boy to go the same school as his brother, although we haven't finally de-cided that," Mr Blair said. To add to the tension, alle-

gations of vote-rigging, reported in Saturday's Independent, have continued. Diane Abbott, member of the National Executive Committee, and Labour MP for Hackney North and Stoke Newington, said Ms Harman seemed to have her own assisted-places scheme. "If they stuff ballot boxes, of course she'll make it back. In a straight-forward secret ballot I don't think she would [return]," said Ms Abbott. But Ms Harman reinforced

her claim to be judged on her record as shadow health spokeswoman by issuing new figures from her office showing that there had been a new rise in hospital waiting lists, in spite of the Government's drive to reduce them. In the South Thames region, the number waiting more than a year had gone up from 23 to 430 between March and May. She said it showed that the Tories were fail





Harriet Harman: Backed Ann Clwyd: Intervention

## Jewish group seeks Internet block on racism

ANDREW BROWN

Arab des

A Jewish think-tank has called for the Internet to be brought under the same legal controls as book publishing. Lack of leg-islatin, the Institute of Jewish Policy Research says, is giving users of the electronic network a unique chance to broadcast material from anti-semitic and other obnoxious groups.

The Institute wants the companies that sell Internet access to be treated as the publishers of the material accessed through their services, and not to act as if they were no more responsible than telephone firms.

In a report published tomorrow, the Institute says: "The Internet has provided a relatively regulation-free environment for the publication of racist material and the organisation of the activities of neo-Nazi and other far-right org-anisations, and terrorist and extremist groups.

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White supremacist groups, it says, are using American In-ternet sites to publish material which is illegal in many European countries.

It claims the greatest danger is posed by the World Wide Web, which is being used to disseminate ideas from American-based organisations such as The New Aryan Movement, Zionwatch, the National Party. and Independent White Racialists. Relying on credit card sales, groups are able to push propaganda through music; Resistance Records, for example, sells CDs with titles like Aryan

New Storm Rising.
The sheer size of the Internet, and the availability of easy ways to encrypt or render messages anonymous, means that no law enforcement agencies in Britain or the US have seriously monitored the material. The German authorities, by contrast, are monitoring the Internet for counter-terrorist purposes. In 1993 and 1994 German and Norwegian neo-Nazi groups were co-ordinating their activities over the Internet, and the feuds within the British far-right were partially conducted on a Norwegian Bulletin Board sys-

Much of the activity was legal in some countries. But the Institute claims it would be illegal to receive most of it in Britain, due to the Public Order Act, the Malicious Communi-cations Act, and the Telecom-

munications Act of 1984. The report says that though the technical and libertarian arguments against controlling undesirable material are compelling, schools, libraries, and other bodies, should voluntarily censor their material.



## Elected mayors urged in councils' radical report Councillors face unpaid

NICHOLAS TIMMINS Public Policy Editor

Britain moved closer yesterday to having directly elected maylocal government.

ors, with publication of a localauthority-backed study arguing for "radically new models" of

not delivering what local government is going to need," argues Steve Bullock, joint author, a former leader of Lewisham. Changes could range from directly elected mayors to a council-appointed Cabinet system. A new separation is needed be-

"Current arrangements are tween the political leadership which runs the council and the elected assembly of other councillors, which can then hold a more visible and powerful leadership to account, the report argues - a model closer to the relationship of the Government with the House of Com-

make councillors more accountable for their actions. The call for change comes as Tony Blair, the Labour leader, is expected to renew his com-The public often sees only a mitment to experiments with "stilted defence", and it is "exlocal government on Tuesday. iremely difficult to judge elected mayors in a speech to

committee called for councils to workloads of 20 to 30 hours a be able to experiment with lead-ership and election procedures. The present system produces decisions behind closed doors.

week to maintain the "legal fiction" that they are all responsible, the report argues. ☐ Revitalising Local Democracy: The Leadership Options; ADC. 26 Chapter Street SWIP 4ND 1 30

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#### Foreign posts to see huge cutback

**COLIN BROWN** 

A warning to halt cuts in diplomatic posts abroad, designed to make savings for tax reduc-tions, will be delivered to Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, in a hard-hitting report by a crossparty Commons Select Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) has told mer minister David Howell, that an efficiency programme has identified potential annual savings rising to £28 million a

"The hulk of these savings have been required to enable the FCO to live within its previous baselines," the FCO said. "In 1996-97, the shortfall will be made up by a number of cuts to operating expenditure, including information programmes, travel andentertainment." No decisions have yet been taken on where expenditure reductions will fall in 1997-98.

Members of the committee were alarmed that the spending cuts on diplomatic posts abroad would be higher than previously stated. They were told that running costs were due to fall by £17 million in this financial year, and £11 million in 1997-98. But FCO officials said the cuts amounted to £34 million this year and £25 million next year when exchange rates and inflation overseas were taken into account.

The Treasury has also criticised the costs of overseas diplomatic posts, thoughthese days the posts are often geared

to exporting British goods.

Last week a leaked report showed that middle-ranking Treasury officials, dubbed "kids" by the Chancellor, were warning that by hitching up to European markets Britain could lose its chance to win lucrative trade with emerging economies in the Far East and South America. The select committee was appalled to find that dozens of posts in British embassies and consulates had

been cut. Since October 1993, the FCO has found efficiency savings of £22.4 million, representing nearly 11 per cent of corporate overheads and overseas support services. The number of staff slots in the UK has fallen by more than 18 per cent m the past three years. And the hudget for the diplomatic wing of the FCO this year is due to fall from £1,431 million to £1,114 million - the lowest level since 1990-91. Some of the savings are being made by replacing UK staff in foreign posts with diplo-

mats hired locally.

The Foreign Affairs Select Committee is also alarmed by the budget cuts proposed for the BBC World Service that are due to fall this year by £8 million to £170 million, and then by £9 million next year. It is carrying out a separate report on the BBC



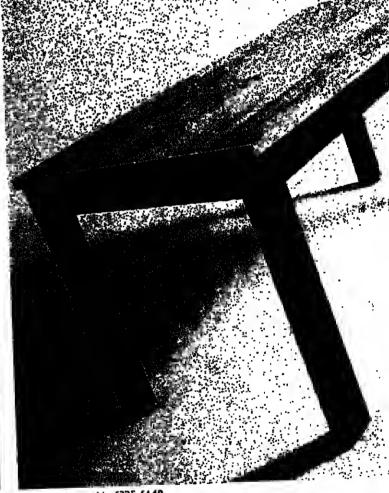




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# Newts on the crest of multi-million-pound new home Dange



A £3m operation to move 15,000 great crested newts out of the way of one of the biggest development projects in Europe is under way in a

Cambridgeshire brick-field. Every day this summer, in a vast clay pit next to the perpetually smoking brickworks at Orton, dozens of the small amphibians fall into pitfall traps. They are then moved a short distance to a site which will escape the buildozers clearing the land for a £500m private sector new town on the edge of Peterborough.

The land's owner, Hanson, is spending millions on the newts' rescue because it is anxious to remain within the law. The great crested newt is rare, in decline and protected by an Act of Parliament. And Hanson had the misfortune of finding what is probably Europe's sin-

gle biggest colony of the newt inhabiting its development site. As well as the rescue work, the multi-national company has had to sacrifice adjacent land worth, potentially, more than £10m to a dedicated 300-acre newt reserve. That brings the price tag for each creature saved up to £1,000.

The costly protection measures have been negotiated with English Nature, the Government's wildlife conservation watchdog. But the World Wide Fund for Nature regards the

cost, reports Nicholas Schoon

agreement as a scandal and is looking to prosecute the Government for allowing development on the newt-inhabited land to go ahead.

The conservation group has already complained to the European Commission alleging that European Union nature protection laws are being breached. It wants Hanson to find somewhere else to build the one-fifth of its township destined for the newts' habitat, or to shrink the development.

Out of the question, says James Hopkins, Hanson's managing director for the township project. "You can't just suddenly plonk 1,100 homes somewhere else. We will have to rethink the

whole master plan."
The clay pits still supply the Hanson-owned brick-making industry in Peterborough. Some have already been filled with coal ash from power stations. Those that remain are being drained and engineered to make them a secure foundation for the 5,200 homes, plus schools, shops, leisure-centre and offices which will make up

the township.

Last week the newts were being removed by Hanson's wild life consultants from where a large embankment will be built to define the edge of the reserve. A foot-high fence of slippery material is placed along the boundary of the trapping would almost vanish.

numerous plastic bowls.

The old pits may look blighted and ripe for reuse, but they are a rich wildlife refuge amid the intensively farmed surrounding fenland. Water fowl, birds of prey, rare dragonflies and hares also thrive in along with the newts boggy landscape among the thou-sands of conical, 20-ft hillocks made of clay and soil left over after the prime brick-making material was extracted.

Between the hillocks are the pools where the newts breed. No one appreciated how high their numbers were - around 30,000 - nntil development plans were well under way. Then English Nature declared the 400-acre area a site of special scientific interest. This was awkward, since SSSIs are designated to protect nature

from damage and development. But along with the designa-tion came English Asture's deal with Hanson. In compensation for destroying the bulk of the SSSI, the company would create a permanent reserve for the amphibians.

This, say the two organisa-tions, is a great gain for con-servation, because the newts would be doomed if they were left alone. As time passes, the pits fill with water and small fish start to colonise the pools. These then eat the newts' eggs. If the area were abandoned to nature, then within a hundred

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#### DAILY POEM

#### **Beach Roses**

By Mark Dotv

What are they, the white roses, when they are almost nothing, only a little denser than the fog.

shadow-centred petals blurring, towards the edges, into everything?

This morning one broken cloud.

fourteen gleaming islands hurrying across a blank plain of sheen: nothing, or next to nothing

pure scattering, light on light,

And now, a heap of roses beside the sea, white rugosa beside the foaming hem of shore:

waxen candles . . .

And we talk as if death were a line to be crossed Look at them, the white roses. Tell me where they end.

Mark Doty's last collection of poetry, My Alexandria, won the 1995 TS Eliot Prize and the Los Angeles Times Book Award. He is the hrightest lyric poet to emerge in the United States in recent years, and his graceful and apparently effortless use of language has at its heart a rare classicism and stillness. "Beach Roses" comes from his latest collection, Atlantis, published this month by Jonathan Cape at £7 and highly recommended.



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## Danger: there's a risk of being consumed by it

he world's a scary place. Hardly a day passes without another dangerous than cycling, which is more dangerous than travelling by car, which strange or tragic story of sudden is far more dangerous than flying. unexpected disaster sprawled across the newspapers. Hapless holidaymakers are bombed at an airport in Spain. Language students are killed when their plane to Paris explodes. Saturday-morning shoppers in Manchester are injured by an IRA bomh. A woman walking home one afternoon with her children in peaceful Kent is beaten to death. Ordinary people doing ordinary things are struck unexpectedly by danger and disaster.

These bolts from the hlue are even more disturbing and disorienting when children are involved. It seems unimaginable that a child could be raped and murdered on her school exchange trip while sleeping in a room with other pupils. Or that a child asleep in a tent in her back garden could be stolen, ahused, and killed in the middle of the

These events are deeply distressing, and we should he distressed by them. But most of us then go on to worry about the same things happening to us. Are we right? Should we move around in a state of sundued anxiety, a kind of alent fear against the risks that seem to crowd in on us? The real risks, after all, are low; we have about as much chance of being murdered within the week as we have of winning the lottery (ie, very little chance at all). Walking is more across the front pages or shouted from

Terrible and disturbing though the Dunblane tragedy was, children are still safer in the classroom than in their home. And they are less at risk from strangers than from parents.

The number of child murders has hardly changed in 20 years. Between 1983 and 1993, around 85 children were murdered each year; most of them infants killed at their parents' hands. In the entire decade between 1983 and 1993, only 57 children under 14 were murdered by people they didn't know. It is true that there is a much higher chance your child will be abducted today – hut the kidnapper is likely to be your estranged husband or wife. Such are the facts. But our fears do

not reflect them. Parents who cheerfully trotted to school alone a generation ago now escort their own children every inch of the way. In 1971, 80 per cent of seven- and eight-year-olds were going to school alone; today fewer than 10 per cent do. Meanwhile, those few parents who let their kids walk home alone are roundly condemned by neighbours whizzing back in the (lethal) car.

The easiest explanation of this gap between the facts and our fears is the media. When the details of the deaths of Jade Matthews, Sophie Hook and Caroline Dickinson are plastered



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the television news, it is hard not to be about it, and we certainly don't change alarmed. There aren't many frontpage headlines about how ordinary life and how many children arrived safely at school this morning. Nor are there many mentions in the national press about the countless children killed in road accidents.

But there's a curious puzzle here. Newspapers devote pages and pages to the impact and aftermath of IRA bombs. Yet people still shop in Manchester, still ride double-decker buses round London, and still (in our case) work in Docklands. We know more bombs may go off, but we rarely think

our lives because of it. London parents don't plan to move to the country just to reduce the risk of their son or daughter being bombed.

Mad cows are another good example. The Government admitted that there might be a link between mad cows and CJD hack in March. The newspapers and television news hulletins oozed with anxiety, and gave the issue at least as much coverage as any child murder. For a short time we did stop eating beef. But now, only four months later, beef sales have bounced back up again. We know no more now

than we did in March about the extent of the risks to our health, but it seems that most of us are prepared to shrug our shoulders.

The notice we take of the media when assessing the risks around us varies dramatically from one topic to another. With bombs and BSE, it appears that we would rather depend on our own experience than be swayed by news reporting. The idea that the department store we are about to walk into could explode around us is almost inconceivable. So is the notion that the tasty steak in front of us could turn our hrains to jelly. But where children are concerned, it seems we can imagine the dangers only too well.

It could simply be that we react more passionately to any suggestion that our children are at risk. Threats we perceive to ourselves as healthy adults from bombs or cows are far easier to deal with and rationalise than threats to our trusting young sons and daughters. Present us with a story about a battered child and rationality deserts us.

Perhaps, too, we have become more sensitive generally to the potential damage to which children are exposed every day. Child abuse was never mentioned 20 years ago, so people didn't fear it. Silence on the subject, however, did not mean child abuse did not exist. Indeed, it was arguably more prevalent than it is today.

Even so, the lurking stranger terri-

fies us most. Bull-bars on jeeps, malign parents, other children at school; all these are benign compared with the unknown. Maybe it helps to remember, when the headlines are all turning bad, that motor cars kill more than madmen, and that bombs do far less damage than booze.

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#### A soupçon of sleaze in the soup

Dinner with the PM - £100,000; an evening with Ken Clarke or Gillian Shephard - around £10,000. Presumably other Tory MPs can be rented out, too, if the price is right. On the face of it, there is nothing wrong with this kind of political fund-raising — until it starts to corrupt the relationship between the party and its donors.

What favours can businessmen expect for their cash? "Entertainment," says one contact dinner organiser. What he means is, that's how you can describe the night out in the company accounts; as a description of a couple of hours with the PM it seems, at best, debatable. "Political intelligence," says another. That means the chance for some Major name-dropping - to be able to boast to contacts of your proximity to power. As it happens, there is a better

description. The word is "sleaze".

#### - LETTERS TO THE EDITOR -

TABLEAU OF TRADITIONAL GAMES - GRAECO-ROMAN ARM TWISTING

#### Public still at risk in the **BSE** saga

Sir: It took the Department of Health seven years (1985-92) to tell the 2000 or so families that the human growth hormone (HGH) injections received by their children were contaminated by CJD ("The hidden harvest of death", 20 July). The development of CJD (and

the other spongy-brain diseases)

depends not only on the dose of the virus, hut also on the genotype—a rare one—of the individual and the probability is that most if not all of the hitherto unaffected "victims" of this disaster are genetically not susceptible to CJD. I therefore suggested in your columns (Letters, 19 August 1993) and in a letter to the Chief Medical Officer (CMO) that it would be a kindness to the suffering families to offer to establish the genotype of each potential "victim". Buried in the circumlocution of the CMO's dismissive answer to my letter is the immortal phrase "... the situation is being kept under review ... " Four years on the families are still

It was known to the neurological fraternity of the world by 1969 that CJD was an infection with this unique and sinister virus. Even if we allow a whole further year for this information to have percolated around the Medical Research Council and the Department of Health it takes us to, say, 1 July 1971. Why then was Mr Justice Morland so ungenerous as to pick on 1 July 1977 as the deadline for possible litigation?

waiting for such an offer.

Patricia Wynn Davies emphasises that this HGH catastrophe has nothing to do with BSE. But there is one sinister connection: negligence by the Ministry of Health in the HGH saga has caused members of the public to develop CJD and negligence of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food has put and is still putting members Tof the public at risk of developing CJD in the BSE saga. London NW3

#### Abortion: the right to choose Sir: Further to the article

"Abortion: why we must think again" (18 July), I would like to object to Bryan Appleyard's rather low opinion of human nature.

Pre-natal testing tends to take place late on in pregnancy, beyond the weeks when abortions are usually performed. Any foetus involved is therefore a wanted child. Many choose to have a test for disorders such as Down's Syndrome because they realise that, however much they want the child, the demands of a severely handicapped person are greater than they are able to meet.

You cannot equate such a test with testing for schizophrenia or heart disease, or other treatable conditions. I find it highly unlikely that, even if these tests were available, many would choose to use them, and equally unlikely that, if they were administered and the results were positive, abortion would be the preferred option.

For the overwhelming majority the "perfect" baby is not one with blond hair, blue eyes, a high IQ and a heterosexnal disposition, as Bryan Appleyard implies, but a child to whom they are able to give the care and attention it needs.



Scientific research and development is of huge henefit to mankind. Let us not halt this development by our distrust of human ability to make sensible decisions when given the advantage of greater knowledge. CLARE MURPHY

Sir: The bottom line with abortion is the right to have control over your own body and not to be forced to give birth against your will. What is needed is true publicly-funded abortion on demand.

In deploring the 98 per cent of abortions made for "social reasons", Bryan Appleyard completely misses the point. Many of these abortions are carried out because of the lack of financial and emotional support available for those trying to care for babies, both handicapped and able-bodied. If he was serious about decreasing the number of "unnecessary" abortions he would be better employed campaigning for creche facilities, paid maternity leave and the like. rather than heaping more emotional torment on those who already have to make an impossibly difficult decision. S M DAVIDS Leigh-on-Sea, Essex

#### Give London a world-class Tube

Sir: Hamish McRae's article on reducing London's dependence on the Tube is seductive, but dangerous ("All change for our urban way of travel", 19 July).

I agree that there will be a revival of walking and cycling, and so we do need to change the way we use

road space to make that easier and safer and more enjoyable. We also need a big improvement in conditions for travel by bus. However, the danger is that developments of this kind are used as an excuse to avoid making investment in upgrading and improving the Tube and rail systems that serve London. If London is to retain and

enhance its position as a worldclass city for residents, visitors and businesses alike, it must have a world-class transport system. An essential element is a short-term increase in funding for London Transport to catch up on the backlog of renewal needed to the existing system. With this, by early in the new millennium, there could be a reduction in public funding as

operating profits increase.
Finally, London's international competitiveness depends greatly on its public services operating reliably and efficiently. We cannot afford to be on strike. The Tube and postal services may have a virtual monopoly in London, but London does not have a monopoly among world cities. Business will be lost if these disputes are not resolved now. IRVING YASS Director of Transport London First London SW1

Sir: As ward councillor for Clerkenwell, I share Hamish McRae's satisfaction that the inner city population decline is being halted by warehouse or office conversions to "loft apartments". But this doesn't necessarily mean

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to work." One of the interesting phenomena of the future may be reverse commuting, with people preferring to live centrally because they enjoy the shopping and entertainment facilities and city huzz, but not tied to working

there.

theatre.

He also predicts a multi-centred region with strong "centres" on the fringe. If Croydon and Hammersmith become "new cultural magnets as well as office centres", it is entirely conceivable that my constituent who lives in the shadow of Smithfield market will travel to Hammersmith to the

1 entirely accept that needless polluting, energy-consuming and unpleasant travel should be curbed, hut I am wary of the Green argument that all travel is inherently bad. Travel to expand horizons by seeing new things and meeting new people is a liberating thing to do. Personally, I love rocketing along in a fast Tube train. I even don't mind sometimes when it's crowded; it reminds me I'm in a real city. And, crucially, it keeps me out of a car. Hamish McRae risks giving comfort to the road lobby by his rejection of the "Victorian invention". SARAH LUDFORD

London NI

#### Bosnia needs long-term help

Sir: Surely most commentators accept that neither the widespread "no need for a Tube: you can walk return of refugees to Bosnia nor

Post letters to Letters to the Editor, and include a daytime telephone number.

(Fax: 0171-293 2056; e-mail: letters@independent.co.uk) Letters may be edited for length and clarity.

significant economic regeneration in the country was a likelihood within one year of the peace deal signed in Dayton last November? While the international community may have subscribed to the rhetoric that a year was long

enough to re-integrate the two entities of Bosnia, few people on the ground ever believed this to be realistic ("Refugees can never go home, says UN", 17 July; letter, 19 Oxfam has worked in Bosnia

since 1993 and witnesses daily the misery that stems from "ethnic cleansing". This, and our experience of over 50 years work throughout the world, has convinced us that an ethnically plural Bosnia remains the only genuine long-term solution for the region. For where have modern nation states defined by ethnic identity been viable? They tend to rely on forced mass migration, murder, or, at worst, genocide for their establishment, and the domination of remaining minorities to maintain

For the international community to recognise that it must engage with Bosnia for longer than one year is a step forward. However, losing sight of the vision of a single Bosnia must signify several steps hack. The 1.8m people who have been displaced during the last four years have a right to return to their homes should they so wish. The challenge is how to create the conditions of physical and economic security which will allow people a genuine opportunity to exercise this

To date, international policy has been conducted with an eye on the US electoral timetable, or underpinned by the desire to shunt refugees from countries of asylum back to Bosnia. Until the international community starts hehaving as if it has a long-term commitment to a single pluralistic Bosnia, "ethnic cleansing" will be endorsed and the people of Bosnia remain short-changed. DAVID BRYER

Director Oxfam UK & Ireland Oxford

#### All writing must have narrative

Sir: You quote from Bill Buford's article in the New Yorker, in which he claims that "it is possible that narrative is as important to writing as the human body is to representational painting"
("Modern literary culture has lost the plot", 18 July). Surely this is not comparing like with like?

I would argue that narrative isto writing what composition is to painting. A painter may say that he is not interested in composition, just as a writer may say that he is not interested in narrative - but composition and narrative are still the fundamental component of each medium. As a progression of information, a piece of fiction can have a had narrative or a dull narrative - but it cannot have no narrative, any more than a painting nn canvas can ever have nn composition. STEPHEN VOLK Bradford on Avon, Wiltshire

#### Last chance for asylum seekers

Sir. Today peers have one last chance to decide whether it is right to remove all means of subsistence from asylum seekers who flee repressive regimes in fear of their lives and freedom to seek a safe haven in Britain.

Citizens' Advice Bureaux know that fear, ignorance of procedures, natural anxiety and disorientation are among the many reasons why genuine asylum seekers may not apply for refugee status as soon as they set foot in this country, CAB have also seen at first hand the extent of the hardship caused by the withdrawal of benefits from asylum seekers in February. One London GAB, for instance, reported the case of an Iraqi couple with two small children. The man had been imprisoned in Iraq for political activity, but the family was refused all benefits because they sought asylum not at their port of entry, but later the same day at the Home Office department in Croydon. They had nothing to live on until the CAB helped get them £55 a week in emergency payments from the local authority under the Children Act. The new Lords' amendment

simply provides the minimum protection that is acceptable in a civilised society. Should it fail. many genuine asylum seekers will be put at grave risk. It is to be hoped that once again peers will stand up for basic human rights in what is essentially a test of our common humanity as a nation. ANN ABRAHAM National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux London N1

#### The defrocking of Frollo

Sir: No one expects a film version of a famous novel to be true to its origins, much less do you expect it from a Disney animation, but I have noticed a very odd anachronism, occurring in the earlier film versions of The Hunchback of Notre Dame, and

repeated in the Disney version. In Victor Hugo's Notre Dame, the wicked Claude Frolio is a priest, the archdeacon of the Cathedral. When the Lon Chaney and Charles Laughton film versions of the book were made there was, I believe, a set of strange rules in operation, one of which was that religious personages must not be shown in a bad light. For this reason Frollo became a judge, which makes complete nonsense of the story, since in medieval times a layman would have

no authority in the Cathedral. A film made in 1957 with Tony Quinn gave Clande Frollo his correct profession, and also kept the novel's tragic ending, which the other films avoid. Strange that the animated versinn has followed the 1923 and 1939 film versions, rather than the 1957 one - or the book. ELSIE KARBACZ Colchester, Essex

#### Rules of the road

Sir: I was intrigued by the view of Richard Mann regarding Tuscan cycling hahits (Letters, 18 July). In my experience, Italian motorists have a simliar talent for weaving around one another "with barely a cross word or an angry glance". Is he quite as willing to rejoice at fourwheeled road users "going about their business" with the same relaxed indifference to traffic rules? DAVID WILLIAMS London N8

# Romancing the past

Sixty years ago, thousands of men and women went to fight in the Spanish Civil War. Are there any ideals for which we would take up arms today? By Paul Vallely

William Keegan, 28, uncmployed miner, a Communist, persuaded hundreds of people in his village of Baillieston outside Glasgow to part with their co-op divvy for the suffering workers in Spain. Killed in action at Brunete, Madrid.

Felicia Browne, 32, painter and sculptor, graduate of the Slade, first English person to fire a rille at the fascist troops led by General Franco. Killed 23 days later rescuing a fellow fighter wounded on patrol. John Longstaff, 17, marched from Stockton to London at the age of 15 to demand a job in 1934. One of the youngest Brit-ons to volunteer to fight in

Patience Edney, nurse, from a staunchly Tory family, began to think seriously about poverty as a result of church discussion groups. Flew to Spain where she trained nurses tending the troops maimed by Franco's

Henry Burke, 26, actor with the Royal Shakespeare Com-pany and the left's Unity Theatre. One of the first to volunteer. Left for Spain the day after the historic Cable Street battle with Mosley's British fas-cists, the Blackshirts. Died at the Cordoba Front in 1937.

ixty years ago next month the first volunteers left Britain to fight the fascist uprising against the democratically elected Spanish gov-ernment. They joined 40,000 other anti-fascists from 50 countries in forming the International Brigade to combat the troops of General Franco who had rebelled against a reforming government which had begun to work on behalf of the poor. Some 2,400 left British shores, among them individuals from Australia, Cyprus, Hong Kong and Ireland. A large proportion - 526 men and women never returned.

It was an extraordinary demonstration of idealistic commitment perhaps unparalleled in 20th-century history. They promote members of our cyniwere intellectuals and poets shocked by the burning of books by the Nazis. They were ordinary working people committed through the socialist ideology of the labour movement to a notion of international solidaroutraged by the unprecedented went knowing the odds, quot-



town of Guernica. They were members of the Labour Party angered by the British government's policy of obstructing arms sales to one side. The odd few were adventurers who didn't get further than Paris on the free tickets provided. It was, as the poet Louis MacNeice put it. "n rag bag army"

But could it ever happen cal and selfish society to

respond today in such a way? Certainly it is hard to predict contemporary Britain might find resonance in the idealistic language of the time. "No Spanish Orphan dies who is not referred to themselves as "the them. They were Christians conscience of Europe". They destruction by aerial bombard-ment of a civilian target, the alistic gallowglass, Lord Byron: etv where self-interest is always put first, as it has been in recent

"They never fail, who die in a good cause." "The fascist bullet that gets me won't kill a Spanish worker," said one, Tommy Patten, as he left Co Mayo. In their ears rang the words of the fiery Communist orator, Dolores Ibarruri, La Pasionaria: "It is hetter to die on your feet than live on your But could it ever happen knees." On their lips was the again? What, if anything, would rallying call of their Spanish compañeros "¡No Pasarán!" -

they shall not pass. Could it happen again? "His-tory doesn't repeat itself," says Bill Alexander, one of those who did return, now aged 86. The character of modern warfare has changed. Then it was ity. They were unemployed vet- mine." was one of the slogans largely men with rifles and erans of hunger marches, hit- of the volunteers, "quiet men of machine guns; today it's a small terly and deeply critical of the peace, roused to war" who number of highly trained peo-society that had marginalised referred to themselves as "the ple handling extremely complicated weapons." Moreover, he admits, "if you live in a soci-

years, that is bound to have had an effect on young people."

t is a view echoed by Paul Preston, professor of mod-ern history at the London School of Economics and author of The Spanish Civil War 1936-39. "The international context is different. What was happening in Spain had massive international repercussions." Fascism was a European widemovement. So was the front to oppose it, "It's difficult to imagine anything that could today excite the imagination or provoke the fears it did. Moreover. the welfare state has undermined the power of the idea of solidarity in people's lives. In the 1930s solidarity was survival. The idea that 'in unity is strength' doesn't wash much in the 1990s after the revolution of

The shift which turned people from citizens into consumers began some time ago. Bill Alexander and his colleagues discussed the idea of a new International Brigade during the Victnam war hut already its time was past; and, in any case, "because of the climate and conditions Europeans would have been more of a hindrance than a help".

individualism.

But others disagree. The filmmaker Ken Loach, whose Land and Freedom is a moving story of heroism and betrayal set in the Spanish Civil War, sees the same impulse at work in the thousands of volunteers who went out to pick coffee in Nicaragua in the 1980s. "They went out of a similar sense of outrage," he says, "because the United States was committing the most appalling atrocities by proxy against a very poor, very small country which was doing no more than trying, in the best interests of its people, to lift itself out of the mess a dic-

tator bad left it in." Picking coffee hardly com-pares with trench warfare. But Loach is unhappy with suggestions that the trips by members of Nicaraguan solidarity groups were little more than Club Red weren't asked to bear arms -Nicaragua had an army and it was fighting a guerrilla war which did not need large numbers of people as at the fronts in Spain," he argues, "But many of those who went to Nicaragua stayed in villages in the war zone and let it be known they were there. So if the Contras attacked they risked killing a foreign citizen. That was incredibly brave."

To those, like President Mugabe of Zimbatwe, who once suggested European Marxists working in his country should go home and start their revolution there, Loach responds: "The true revolutionary is an internationalist because revolution is indivisible. If it's not immediately on the cards in your own country you go wherever you can and

do what you can." But revolution is out of vogue nowadays. (Loach knows that only too well; when he proposed a film about an industrial dispute to Channel 4 recently he was rebuffed with "strikes aren't sexy any more".) Where tia and Bosnia bear a close

there is dissent it is unlikely to be focused on structures, parties and factions as it was in the Thirties. Today the nearest we come to that is a loose coalition of single-issue groups coming together over roads protests or animal rights.

"We live in a much more fragmented world," says Helen Graham, a historian at Royal Holloway College, author of Socialism and War. 'The postindustrial, post-modern world needs no large collesive labou holidays for lefties. "They structures because all the other old monolithic structures have gone too. There is once more an underclass but it is much more marginalised and its members are much more isolated. In Spain the rights and wrongs couldn't have been clearer; it was fairly emotionally simple even if it was intellectually complex. There were many fronts in Thirties Europe but only one war against attempts by dominant élites to put the clock back and disenfranchise ordinary people."

The clarity of that was evident enough in the Thirties to another Scottish miner. Charles Goodfellow, who had served in the trenches of the First World War hefore going to Spain: "The years in the last war were nothing to this," he said, "but I know I am on the right side this time." But in contemporary history it is there only for the specialist. The former Labour leader and International Brigade supporter Michael Foot sees it today in the former Yugoslavia. "Attacks on Croa-

for refusing to allow one side to arm itself. The formation of organisations in Britain like the Bosnian Defence Committee paralleled that of the Aid to Spain movement. But few British volunteers were evident in Bosnia, only the odd mercenary. There was a classic simplicity about Spain. A democratically elected govern-

the "non-intervention" policy

which was once again a cloak

ment was overthrown by the army. The battle lines were clear. On one side stood the poor and against them were ranged fascism, big husiness, the landowners and the church. Bosnia, with its long history of internecine feuding, is altogether more complex.

You can't say that because we didn't go to fight in Bosnia we are a cynical, dispirited and demoralised society." says Loach. "It's not as simple as that. There's no doubting that working people have become demoralised. Defeat breeds defeat. But people who have been clohbered don't necessarily give up, they regroup in different ways. I here is a para dox: there is a sense of demoralisation but when the chips are down people will still say 'No More'. Recently 2,000 young people met in Berlin to support the [rebel Mexican] Zapatistas in Chiapas. That kind of thing gets no coverage in the press: it's always a counter-culture, hut there's nothing to suggest that people aren't still out-raged by injustice."

nd vet something has changed. The historian AH Halsey, thinking of the Thirties, recalls a vivid contemporary sense of "the inevitable march of history towards the dream. Yet there were two dreams. Communists saw the dictatorship of the proletariat as an inevitability. But fascists thought the same thing too about their thousand year reichs. The dynamic of those two competing certainties produced a climate today where the world has proclaimed the end of history and sees capitalism as the only inevitability.

There are those, like Loach,

Loach's Spanish Land and Freedom' (main picture); left: British members of the nternational Brigade bound for the front (photograph from

Memorials of the Spanish Civil War', Van Sutton

Mo

uni

who resist this. "That's the false consciousness we get all the time," he says impatiently. "It's what they want us to believe: that this is the inevitable state of things. But it's hiatantly untrue. This sense of inevitability is entirely manipulated. A lot of people are working very hard to pre-serve global mequality. It's not inevitable; a lot of people are getting up very early every day to make it happen."

Michael Foot also cautions against fatalism, "I don't think international solidarity has disappeared altogether." he says, "there are a lot of people on the left who believe that the claims of international solidarity are still as great as they ever were." Not many, perhaps, but then there were not, relatively speaking, that many who went to fight in Spain. "A lot of people thought that those who went and fought in Spain were a strange hunch. Foot recalls. History has transformed them from that mto heroic figures - a process() Loach warns against. Such myth-making only serves to usempower ordinary the present. "Part of the trick [hy those who control the levers of power]," he says, "is to romanticise the past so that the present can't compete". There was certainly nothing

romantic about the journey to Spain as Bill Alexander remembers it. "We didn't see it as helping someone else with their war. It was our war," he insists. Internationalism and solidarity were not empty rhetorical devices. The Germans and Ital-lans in the International Brigade were exiles from fascism in their home countries. "In Britam we'd seen Mosley hoping to follow in the same path as Hitler and Mussolini, all of which deepened our concern and anger. The decision to volunteer didn't arise overnight. It was a process. As the poet C Day Lewis put it at the time: We went because our open eyes could see no other way.' I think that if young people today felt called to play their part on the side of humanity they would." It would seem churlish

## Is your shoe salesman trying to tell you something?

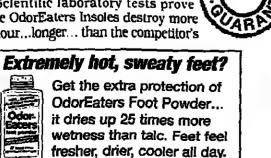
You need OdorEaters, the only insole that instantly neutralises the cause of foot odour...sweat acid. Clinically proven - most effective insole you can buy.

OdorEaters is the fastest-acting, best. Also special latex foam absorbs most powerful odour destroying wetness, cushlons feet comfortably insole available today - with all day long. Triple Protection.

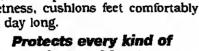
- 1. New Insta-Fresh neutralises sweaty foot acid on contact to There's an OdorEaters insole made kill odour faster. 2. Super Activated Charcoal keeps
- killing month after month. 3. Powerful Anti-Bacterial Agent kills odour causing bacteria.

Keeps protecting for months, too.

Scientific laboratory tests prove the OdorEaters Insoles destroy more odour...longer ... than the competitor's







shoe and boot.

especially for every major kind of footwear: everyday shoes. work shoes, trainers - and now the latest for today's boots.



## Road rage: it's a virus and it's incurable

Milton Keynes University. To put it another way, he doesn't know much about cars, but he knows a lot about motorists. To put it another way, whenever the media need an expert on road rage or truffic accidents, Roland Bumper is at the other end of a mobile phone. But recently he has been rather husy on research of his own...

"That's right." he told us down the line. I have been doing some fairly painstaking research into the causes of road rage. Of course, I would much rather he out and about being interviewed about road rage in TV studios, hut interest seems to have died down temporarily, so I have been using this enforced idleness to get on with some work. And it's heen worth it because I think I have now located the

road rage virus." Heavens above. Is road rage caused by a virus? "I believe so. It is perhaps

better named mad motorist's

Roland Bumper is pro-fessor of automobile behaviour studies at a logical cause except in scientific terms. And I believe we have now isolated the road rage virus. Does that mean it is curable?

"Sadly, no. We think that the virus is passed on genetically, for a start." Does that mean it is hereditary?

"Yes, but we don't use that term any more. Passed on genetically sounds much more up to date than 'hereditary'. But worse than that, we think the road rage virus, or RRV, has started to develop immunity to all drugs."

But how can it build up resistance to drugs when it hasn't been subjected to any? "Well, don't forget that any drugs that go into the body, for whatever purposes, do act on viruses whose existence we

So drugs we take to cure one condition may have an effect on another condition? "Surely. I have made a study of several athletes who have

been taking drugs over the

years, and they may not be any

don't even know about."



Miles Kington

better athletes, but they sure are proof against influenza hut that's another story. What t want to say in this connection is that we now think the road rage virus or RRV has been mutating into different forms." Oh my goodness me. You

mean, producing new kinds of had-tempered behaviour? Yes, indeed. We have so far identified nearly a dozen separate forms of rage which have evolved from road rage. There is lane lunacy, football

fury, phone frenzy, airport apathy, cashier crisis, headline

Hold on, hold on there a moment. Let's look at one or two of those. What's headline

"Headline hysteria is a con-dition we have identified which involves sudden rage sparked off by a news item on TV or radio, or even in the paper. It doesn't have to be good news or had news, just on a certain topic. Michael Howard triggers it off. So does Northern Ireland. So does

Princess Diana. So does sport, though mostly this affects women, not men. Cashier crisis? Is that some-

thing that happens in hanks?
Sometimes, though not invariably. A typical occur-rence of cashier crisis comes when a position in bank or post office closes just as your place in the queue is getting nearcr. Or when a cashier in a supermarket finds one item in your hasket unpriced and rings a bell to send for a supervisor who never comes, and then she starts waving the detergent or whatever it is at the next-door cash till and shouting, Sheila, how much is the Worldcare Washing Up

start seeing red... Hmm. Airport apathy? Interesting one, this. Have slammed down.

Liquid this week? and you

you noticed that when people are waiting in an airport departure tounge for a delayed flight, or just sitting in an acroplane awaiting take-off clearance, they very seldom display rage, however annoyed they are?"

Well, isn't that because they know that rage will get them nowhere?

"Oh, no, logic has nothing to do with it. If logic was involved, nobody would get enraged at all. But in an airport we reckon it is a potent mix of rage and fear which produces this sullen apathy. Fear of flying, fear of accidents, fear that the pilot may crash the plane on purpose if you get cross with him..."

Hmm. And what about phone frenzy?

"Oh, for heaven's sake work it out for yourself!" comes the furious answer. "I've got better things to do than feed information to lazy journalists who can't be bothered to do their own homework! Go and bother some-

one else! Goodbye!" And the phone is angrily

## I've seen the other side: and it stinks

The publication of 'Primary Colours', a thinly concealed novel about the Clintons and their presidential election campaign, caused a publishing sensation in the United States. It has sold well here, too, mainly because it is wittily and elegantly written, but partly because it was anonymous: everyone wanted to know who wrote it. Joe Klein, a 'Newsweek' columnist, was fingered several times as the author, but his denials were believed. Finally, last week, he was trapped by a 'Washington Post' handwriting expert, and admitted he was the author. In today's 'Newsweek' he writes ruefully for the first time about how and why he found himself in a hole, and kept digging. And explains how his own eyes have been opened by the experience ...



ere's what I thought was going to happen last January: Primany Colours, any anony-mous novel, would be a modest success, a titillation for Beltway sorts and a few stray political junkies, but no big deal out in the rest of the country, where real people lead actual lives. figured I would be a

likely suspect, and would have to deny authorship. I figured no one would believe me. Friends, colleagues and pals would say, "Awww, e'mon fue, it's you. No question. Don't hang noodles on our ears," And with that it would be over: mystery solved. The First Family probably wouldn't be happy about the book, but they're not often thrilled by what I write and the portrait of Jack and Susan Stanton (Klein's

and the portrait of rack and Susan Stanton (Niem's fictional Clintons) seemed balanced to me.

But something different happened. My friends betieved my initial fibs. I found this fairly unsertling, and a little frightening; what was I in for now? And then a lot of things began to happen very quickly. The book began to fly out of the stores, It became a Very Big Deal. And attention shifted to many other susperts. Henry Kissinger was mentioned. The book was Nn I, and there was a movie deal ... and none of it was quite real, hecause I wasn't really experiencing it. I was out covering the Republican campaign, telling my little white lies all along, speculating with friends

about who might have done it, feeling uneasy.

A week before the New Hampshire primary, the roof caved in New York Magazine bired a professor from Vassar College. New York, with a computer program to analyse the styles of the various suspects. It was a pretty good program. But neither the professor nor the magazioe called to ask my reaction until

they'd already issued a press release. The things said about me in the release, and the accompanying arti-cle, were insulting, inaccurate and ridiculous. I was pretty angry about it, but ready to fold. Then I began to receive strong signals that Random House thought the author should remain anonymous. I had made a deat on that hasis.

I also, by this time, truly wanted to remain anony mous. If I came forward now, my whole life would be different - the celebrity, the impact on my family. the fact that I'd not just be a Newswerk columnist any more, I'd be that "Anonymous" guy. As James Carville has said, "When you become famous, being famous becomes your profession," I didn't want that. Oh, by the way, all this was taking place in the

course of two hours. I felt trapped, stunned, I must have changed my mind a dozen times. But I eventually came out in favour of keeping my commitment to the publisher and my book.

The worst consequences stem from my adamant denials of authorship (1 thought nothing less than adamant was going to suffice). Two were especially hard: on camera to my other employer, CBS (and worse privately to my friend Dan Rather) — and to

worse, privately, to my friend Dan Rather) - and to David Von Drahle of the Washington Post, who asked

if I'd stake my journalistic credibility on it. I should never have said yes. I didn't think my journalistic cred-ibility was at stake; my commitment as a povelist was.

I should have said something elever - diverting.

The last few months have been pretty awful, but given the book's success, it would be fatuous to com-plain. Still, I was almost relieved when the Washing-ton Post found an early manuscript with my hand-

writing on it.

The relief was fleeting. The ensuing maelstrom was unbelievable. Not only the zoological press conference – that was to be expected. But also the endless chattering and bantering and pontificating on the air about what I did.

t couldn't sleep. I couldn't eat. I kept drinking water, but felt dehydrated. It was, I realised, a pretty typical campaign day for Bill Clinton or Bob Dole. Could I bave handled this mind-boggling situation better? Sure. I've said some things I'll probably always

I've also learnt this; what it's like to live as a politician. I did it for a few hours after the New York Mag-uzine story appeared, t did it for a few days last week. And it is impossible. It is impossible to think straight. It is very easy to screw up, and it is unrelenting. But they do it every day, and that is no way for a civilised nation to choose its leaders. Of course, this was one of the themes of Primary Colours - but I was just imagining what it was like on the other side of the press conference. Now that I've lived it, I hope I'll show a little more mercy for the brave, frait fools and heroes who live our public lives. I hope you will, too.

#### Chopsticks are out against the Big Mac

Paul Vallely on Chinese efforts to curb obesity

t was the original fast food - in China at any rate - but the tradi-Ational stir-fry is giving way to some-thing altogether less healthy. The world's most populous nation is starting to grow fat on a diet of cheesehurgers and doughnuts. Government officials in Peking are oot amused. Chinese authorities at the weekend

launched a campaign to get their peo-ple to revert to Chinese food when in search of a fast fill. An iocrease in levels of obesity - as much as 10 per cent of the population of Shanghai is now overweight - has led Communist Party officials to pledge that comparable standards of speed and hygiene would be introduced into indigenous catering outlets in an attempt to fight off the foreign invader.

How wise they are. Consumer goods are the vanguard of the forces of capitalism. Fast food outlets are its shock troops. And it is the burger which is the standard-bearer of Western economic

begemony.

McDonald's hore the colours through the collapsing Berlin Wall. Early Western tourists into Budapest reported that already queues were a quarter of a mile long outside McDonald's there (and at Adidas, too). And even before a collapsing Soviet Union withdrew the subsidy from the Cuban economy I met young malcontents in Havana who swore that they would happily give up their nonpareil of a health and education system in return for the consumerist nirvana of the Sooy Walkman, Michael Jackson T-shirt and an end-

less supply of quarterpounders.
Now already it seems in the case of China the new markets are succumbing to our old diseases. Good revolutionary ailments like stomach cancer they fear could be ousted by the corooaries of economic imperialism. (Thanks to their diet almost 40 per cent of Americans are oow obese; it was only 25 per ceot in 1981 - extrapolating from which scientists say it will be 75 per cent by 2050 and, one epidemiological wag predicts, by 2230 every American will be obese.)

Meanwhile, the incorrable conquest of the world by the Big Monopolius.

of the world by the Big Mac continues. Last week McDonald's Corp reported an 11 per cent rise in earnings and said it expects to post record results this year. It carned \$420.4m from its 19,000 staurants worldwide and another 2,500 outlets are to open this year - a

new one every three hours. No one, it must seem to the Peking authorities, is immune from the virus. Yesterday news came that even their brawniest and best bave submitted. Chinese women gymnasts are bypassing the salad bar in the Olympic Vil-lage dining tent and heading for the golden arches at the back and loading up with french fries and hamburgers McDonald's, it transpires, is an official sponsor of the Games. No wonder the

## Mourners at the grave of trade unionism

Universal rights hold the key to workers' protection, not outdated union wrangling

resterday was trade unionism's grand heritage day. It was the yearly rally held to commemorate the martyrs of Tolpuddie - the Dorsel village from which six farmworkers were transported in 1834 for the sin of forming a union to protect themselves against rapacious farmers. So the brass bands marched to their honour, brotherly banners proudly

But how many hearts' cockles does all that stuff warm these days? Not many. Most of Britain's young bave no experience of trade unions. The whizzkids of new industries or the Have-A-Nice-Day workers of the service sector do not even know what a shop steward is. We who are older, bowever, remember, and the memory is not fond. A blend of Tory propaganda and union reality coojures up a discontented winter when bodies went unburied while the rest of us were buried under mouldering black sacks of uncollected rubbish.

My own personal brushes with trade unionism left a sour taste. The National Union of Journalists, its commitment to freedom and civil liberty demonstrated by sending a letter of support to ColonelGaddaff, once arraigned me. The charge sheet read: she cootinued to handle her hushand's copy after he crossed some picket lines. Since I worked in a closed shop newspaper, I stood to lose my job if the unioo threw me out. In the end they fined me £1,000 and on appeal

reduced it to a reprimand. But in the 10 years since, how have the mighty unions been brought low. Union membership has plummeted.



Those automatic seats for union leaders oo quangos bave gone. In my own workplace, like so many others, the management refuses to recognise the union at all. Does that make me pleased? No. We have exchanged one tyranny for another. I, along with most others, according to opinion poils, feel deeply uneasy about our sta-ius as the country with the fewest

employment rights in Europe.
Privately, union leaders also despair, with apocalyptic talk of terminal crisis. The Labour Party may have recovered its political fortunes, but there has been no parallel renaissance of trade unionism. On the contrary, they

remain frozen out in the cold. So where now? For my Tolpuddle anniversary I visited Jack Dromey, National Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union. In his office, visitors are offered earl grey ~ new trade unionism, new tea. If anyrole it must be him (he is married to Harriet Harman, front beoch bealth shadow). He is the belmsman of union modernisation, a lonely post almost alone out there with his souwester turned into the storm-forces of entrenched reaction. He, therefore, is able to decode Blair's calculated statement of support for London Underground's blundering management.

It was a warning shot - to the unions. Pay freezes in the public sector have created a volcano of demand. which may erupt on the morrow of a employees, both the high and low paid. Labour victory. So Blair, Brown and others are making it very clear that the But can unions as we know ther first union to try their nerve can expect a bloody nose. No union tanks on Blair's prime ministerial lawn.

So, can the unions recew themselves? Dromey's assessment is withering. Warring old barons predomibones of dwindling membership, dog chewing on dog - the chaotic teachers' unions being the paradigm case.

Everything is against renewal: the decline of unions' power base in beavy industry, the rise of service industries which are notoriously hard to organone can speak for the unions' future ise, the spirit of individualism and loss of old ideological certainties. The Thatcher reforms have left the unions crippled, (although those who travel from their callipers).

Jack Dromey, however, has faith. He has a vision, optimistic maybe, but not unpersuasive. It is of unions as "the firm and effective friend of the citizen at work". Not bad. A very large number of downsized, insecure, bullied, over-worked and intimidated

· But can unions as we know them change enough - and in time? Yes progressive trade unionists of the Jack Dromey stamp could still influence the culture of management-worker relations. His formula sounds impres-sively realistic and moderate. We nate, fighting one another over the have to say to our members that they are not going to achieve their dreams of higher pay and status except with more productivity and ending absurd

demarcations." He cites some good examples: at Ford a new deal included training courses in every and any subject for the whole workforce, to improve their skills, to upgrade themselves for promotion or simply for personal fulfillment. Seventy per cent of the workon London Underground or use the force at Dagenham stay after shift Royal Mail bave felt a sharpisb kick now and attend courses. Staff

new local government deal is about to be struck for 1.5 million workers, tearing down all the old demarcations, offering new flexibility to both employers and workers in exchange for vocational and self-development courses to let people escape dead-end ghetto jobs. The idea is to pursue the long-term interests of employees, not

just a year-on-year pay deal. Those are examples of what forward-looking trade unionism can achieve - but only in the few traditional unionised workplaces. What of the great non-unionised majority? The only hope of better employment protection comes not from trade unions at all but from new universal rights for employees. A fairer balance of power in most workplaces depends ess on Jack Dromey or his unions however progressive - but on Labour's promises on the European social

chapter and a minimum wage. The only chance for trade unionism is for workers to see the new briefcasecarrying hreed of Dromeys as a professional friend, financial adviser, carrier of a portfolio of opportunities and advice services - a far cry from the facturnover has dropped sharply. And a tory gate soapboxes of yesteryear.

## Why I am ashamed to be British

Over several recent issues this country has shown itself to be cowardly, ignorant and duplicitous

have recently begun to feel asbamed of my country. I cannot L recall experiencing such an emotion before. For most people, I assume, that is a pretty rare feeling, if it ever bappens at all.

It occurs when other nations or peo-

ples have good cause to rebuke us. When General Dyer opened fire in April 1919 on an unarmed crowd in Amritsar in India and killed 379 of them, many British people were ashamed: AJP Taylor said it was the decisive moment when Indians were alienated from British rule. On the other hand, Neville Chamberlain's agreement with Hitler at Munich in 1938, which sanctioned German occupation of part of Czechoslovakia, was welcomed by the entire British press except one left-wing Sunday paper and the Communist Daily Worker. Feelings

of revulsion came later. So we come to the past three months, a period in which the United Kingdom has shown itself on different occasions to be cowardly, ignorant and duplications. It is these incidents coming together which have made me feel defensive when meeting people from neighbouring countries.

The charge of cowardice was implicit in the criticisms made on BBC television 10 days ago by the Irish Prime Minister, John Bruton. He was commenting on the decision made by the British authorities suddenly to allow Orangemen to parade through the Catholic section of the Garvaghy Road in Portadown, Co Armagh. I found myself listening to the government of my country being told by another prime minister how, in a democracy, the rule of law must be defended. I could only agree. Examine the excuse offered by the

Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Sir Hugh Anoesley: "I had to look at the implications if there was a determined thrust on the police lines. It could have led accidentally or otherwise to loss of life. I was not prepared to risk the loss of a single life for the sake of rerouting that march." Sir Hugh did not sufficiently consider the loss of life that was likely to follow from his decision to give in to pressure. I cannot help thinking, too, that if our fire services were to operate on Sir Hugh's principle, fewer people would be rescued from burning buildings. Sir Hugh put up the white flag.



ANDREAS WHITTAM SMITH

Then there was the victous blackguarding of foreigners during the receot Euro % football championship. At a time when there were many Ger-

You can say all is fair in love, war and business ... I say it was a vile trade

man visitors here we called them Krauts, we declared football war on them, we constantly referred to their in 1989, when already proscribed in Nazi past and our tabloid oewspapers said that we were going to bomb them to bits. We would "Blitz Fritz". If you ask the editors why this hap-

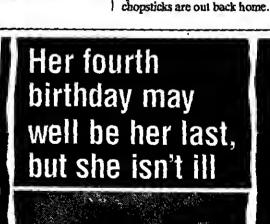
pened, they say it was just a joke, part of our national character to poke fun at foreigners, quite harmless, amusing really, can't you see?

This attitude springs from an invin-cible ignorance. British is best, because we know no other and because we are unreflective and unquestioning about what we have. Can there now be a Britoo who will not feel at least a bit awkward when he or she next encounters somebody from Germany?

Duplicity is the most appropriate description of an incident that punctuated the BSE crisis. We learnt that British beef-rendering companies had knowingly sold contaminated products to France, Germany, Spain and other countries such as Israel. They stepped up their exports immediately after the British government had banned the sale of meal made from cow and sheep for use in cattle feed in the United Kingdom. The rendering companies noticed a loophole in the regulations and took full advantage. Thus this country. British sales overseas of the very meat and bone meal thought to have been the original source of the BSE epidemie actually doubled.

The UK Renderers' Association said that its members "might bave" exposed other countries to such feed but that "they have applied whatever legislative controls the government introduced". Our foreign customers were outraged. What could one reply to their criticisms? You can say that all is fair in love and war and in business too; that these were transactions between professionals where the rule of cavear emptor applies; that foreigners would have done it to us. Per-

haps. I say it was a vile trade. These incidents pile up in the final months of a fourth successive Tory government. The Scott report showed that a culture of encouraging British companies to exploit loopholes in trade regulations was sanctioned by our politicians. The same government has just been engaged in its own widely trumpeted "war" on Europe. Thus the Daily Mirror's football parody of Chamberlain's declaration of war had a more recent precedent than 1939. As for Sir Hugh Annesley's white flag, the possihility exists that it was hoisted to please his political masters. Come to think of it, perhaps it is my government I should be ashamed of rather than my country.



Tolpuddle, Dorset

the annual rally to

commemorate the

six 'martyrs' of 1834.

any relevance today?

But does this have

Photograph:

**Edward Webb** 



#### She's poor

In countries like the Gambia, one in tour children die before their fifth birthday. The diseases they suffer from differ But the cause is almost always the same.

ACTIONAID is working in some of the poorest areas of the world to end this cycle of despair. Helping local communities to provide clean water, education, health, nutrition, food production and a means to generate their

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Kirill Illyich Zamaraev, a former IUPAC secretariat in England, President of the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry (IUPAC, 1993-95), holder of the Centenary Medal of the Royal Society of Chemistry (1995) and former Director of the Boreskov Institute of him a copy of a book on the life Catalysis of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, died in the prime of his brilliant scientific career. News of his passing cast gloom over the 1,200 delegates in the 11th um of English. Later he entered International Congress on Catalysis, from 1 to 7 July, at Baltimore, where he was scheduled to deliver one of the plenary lectures on "Photocatalysis: state of the art and

perspectives". Kirill Zamaraev was an extraordinary individual. Equally adept as a theoretician and experimentalist, he was an exceptionally versatile chemical physicist, who communicated the gifts and insights of his teachers in Moscow (among them Lev. Landau and Pietr Kapitza) to a large family of tions of electron spin resonance chemists and engineers. Wide - a technique invented in the ly read in several languages, he had a finely developed taste for literature, the theatre and hallet; he was a born leader and an astute diplomat who instilled confidence into others and inspired great efforts from his colleagues. He was alife-enhancing soul. whose company and friendship was valued by all who

During the upheavals and changes consequent upon the disintegration of the Soviet Union Zamaraev played a leading role in the transformation of Russian science and its adoption of the market force economy. In particular, he assisted in the establishment of a network of Federal Research Centres throughout Russia. All this self demanded an extensive and punishing round of worldwide visits to international con-

at Oxford.

Moscow in 1939, the son of an eminent Soviet chemical engineer. His early interest in science prompted his father to give and work of Michael Faraday, who became one of his scientific idols. As a teenager he pursued most of his secondary education the Mendeleev Institute of Chemical Technology and then the Moscow Physical Technical Institute so as to enhance his already formidable skills as a chemical physicist. In both these universities he was the star For the Soviet equivalent of

his PhD (awarded in 1972), he studied initially under Academician Vojevodski (who also died prematurely) at the N.N. Semenov Institute of Chemical Physics in Moscow. His early researches were in the applica-- a technique invented in the Soviet Union by Zavoisky in the early 1940s - to chemical problems and in the theory and phe-nomenology of the tunnelling of electrons over large distances. His skills and excellence were such that, in a mere 14 years, he moved through the ranks from junior to senior scientist land to head one of the laboratories of the prestigious In-stitute of Chemical Physics of the Soviet Academy) and was elected a Corresponding Member of the Academy - one of the youngest in the Soviet Union -

It was in the early 1970s, while sitting with his parents in their apartment in Moscow, that he received a phone call at about 10.30 ooe night that was occurred when he held office as President of IUPAC, which it-reer. "This is Nikolai Nikolaievich speaking," said the distinguished voice at the end of the line. Thinking that it was ferences and workshops, as one of his friends playing a well as constant liaison with the prank, Zamaraev answered in



Zameraev: 'How many and marvellous are the discoveries prepared for us by the spirit of enlightenment . . . '

cavalier fashion. But the voice laboration, which continued up was indeed that of N.N. Se-Zamaraev was born in menov, joint winner (with Sir Cyril Hinshelwood) of the 1956 Nobel Prize for Chemistry.

What Semenov required were some rather rudimentary lessons in quantum mechanics, and he had been told by his colleagues that young Zamaraev was the most compelling of teachers. Zamaraev told his parents that night that he would be working through his textbooks and papers until early morning, for he had promised to give the great Semenov some tutorials the following day. Semenov was at that time in a pivotal position in the Soviet scientific effort on the harnessing of solar energy. This was Zamaraev's introduction to photocatalysis, photophysics and photoelectrochemistry, subjects upon which he later became a world

authority In 1974 to 1975, as part of a US-USSR exchange pro-gramme, Zamaraev held a series of visiting professorships at the universities of Cornell, Stanford and Chicago, where his superb fluency in English and the authoritative flair of his scientific understanding were to impress his American hosts. In 1977 he was selected as the heir apparent to Academician Boreskov as head of the largest institute of catalysis in the world (employing over a thousand people), set up as part of the Khrushchev experiment, in Akademgorod, Novosibirsk, in Siberia. He took a large team of hright Muscovite chemical physicists with him, thereby hroadening the horizons of the already formidable "Boreskov" Institute so as to encompass fundamental and applied studies ranging from ab initio quantum mechanics to enzymatic chemistry. In 1984 he took over as Director, a post that he held until 1992, when he decided to relinquish some of his administrative duties in favour of the more active pursuit of

By 1987 Zamaraev had become a full member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, and was in great demand world-wide as a plenary speaker on a host of topics ranging from industrial applications, chemical engineering practices and laboratory

When the Royal Society introduced its Kapitza Fellowship Scheme shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Zamaraev was one of the first to be appointed (for six weeks based in the Davy Faraday Laboratories of the Royal Institution, but with visits to the President, International Union of universities of Cambridge and Wales at Cardiff). His group at Novosibirsk had started a col-Siberia 26 June 1996.

to the time of his death, with mine at the Royal Institution in 1988, on the catalytic properties of zeolites. Our prime aim was to understand how the catalytic breakdown of certain molecules is influenced by confinement within the pores and

cavities of zeolitic solid. Zamaraev's memorable Centenary Lecture, given in the theatre of the Royal Institution, London, on 25 January 1995, still rings in one's ears. In the described, inter alia, how, at the Boreskov Institute they had: (i) sweetened natural gas (i.e. succeeded in eliminating the hydrogen sulphide from methane); (ii) harnessed the sun's rays to remove the same gas photocatalytically from nat-urally contaminated inland seas in Russia; (iii) utilised immohilised enzymatic catalysts to convert natural gas to methyl alcohol; (iv) designed a catalyst to convert methyl alcohol to formaldehyde; (v) devised a means of converting methyl alcohol to formaldehyde; means of converting wasteful sulphurous by-products from industrial plants into sulphuricacid; and (vi) set up in Ukraine a thermocatalytic converter which stores solar energy chemically and releases it by ingenious use of catalysts.

All this and more is described in one of his last major articles (published in May, in

Topics in Catalysis). While in a Moscow hospital in the autumn of 1994 Zamaracy wrote a beautiful booklet that chronicles the achievements of Russian scientists in catalysis from the days of Lomonosov (1711-1765) onwards. It contains a wealth of evocative entries, including the fact that Borodin described the so-called aldol condensation (2CH<sub>3</sub>CHO → CH<sub>3</sub>CH(OH) CH<sub>2</sub>CHO) in 1872.

When Kirill Zamaraev visited Cambridge in the summer of 1993 with his wife Mila he quoted his beloved Pushkin: How many and marvellous are the discoveries prepared for us by the spirit of enlightenment, by experi-ment, the child of error and effort, by genius, the friend of paradox, and by that divine inventor, Chance.

It was as a result of chance that he and I met, at the 8th Congress on Catalysis in Berlin, in July 1984.

John Meurig Thomas physicist: born Moscow 20 May 1939; Academician, Soviet Acad emy of Sciences 1976: Professor of Physical Chemistry, Novosibirsk State University 1977-96; Director, Boreskov Institute of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences 1984-92; Pure and Applied Chemistry 1993-95; died Novosibirsk.



#### Dick Hills

Ernie: You can't be a singer on your own! Eric I can't?

Ermie: Of course not! You've got to have backing! Now I'm a

Eric All by yourself? Ernie: No, no, no! There's Dick -and Sid -and me. Now Dick, he's a "Boomer". Sid's an "Ooh-er". And me I'm a "Ya-ta-ta-ta-er"...

The "Dick" in Eric Morecambe and Ernie Wise's immortal "Boom! Ooh! Ya-ta-ta!" routine was Dick Hills, who cowrote the piece as well as performing in it. With Sid Green, Hills also wrote for such performers as Sid James, Harry Secombe, Millicent Martin, Tony Hancock, Roy Castle, Anthony Newley, Charlie Drake, Dora Bryan, Bruce Forsyth, Jon Pertwee, Arthur Askey and Jewell and

It is entirely appropriate that Hills first met his future partner at Haberdasher's Aske's Hatcham School, a name which certainly sounds like a comedy school captain there, and, after naval service during the Second World War and post-war study at Cambridge, returned to Haberdasher's as an English master. He and Sid Green were reunited when they played to-gether for the Old Askean rugby side. At the behest of the school's dramatic society, they wrote a panlomime which was so well received, they decided

to become professional scriptwriters.

After being given the runaround by the BBC, they bypassed the corporation and hitched their wagons to Dave King, a rising star who thought the material they submitted suited him perfectly. When he was offered his own television series, King insisted on using the two fledglings, who were first billed enigmatically as "S.C. Green and R.M. Hills". The Dave King Show (1957) was a success first on RPC Television success, first on BBC Television and later on Anglia Television (ATV). In 1959, when the US television station NBC-TV offered King an American series, he took "S.C." and "R.M." to the States with him.

Back in Britain, their many television assignments included The Alma Cogan Show, on which Morecambe and Wise appeared as guest artists. In 1961, when Lew Grade, the Managing Director of Anglia, offered Eric and Ernie their own show, they immediately told ATV they wanted Green and Hills. "If of Green and Hills' material, not they couldn't get them," said a word of it was used in the first do the series." After the first programme, storm-clouds gathered: British Actor's Equity went on strike. The rival union, the Variety Artistes Federation, wasn't on strike and, as VAF members, Morecambe and Wise were allowed to continue in the series, although their supporting players, all Equity members, were

peared in the Dave King shows, volunteered to fill the gaps. They continued to write and play in the show for the next eight years, also providing the scripts to Eric and Ernie's three attempts to conquer the cine-

ma: The Intelligence Men (1965).

That Riviera Touch (1966) and The Magnificent Two (1967). When Morecambe and Wise returned to the BBC, Green and Hills went with them, hut after the first series in 1968 Morecambe suffered a near-fatal heart attack. By the time he was well enough to continue, Green and Hills had an American commitment; Nick Vanoff, who had produced and directed the American Dave King shows had contracted them to work on The Don Knotts Show (1970-71). an hour-long variety series star-ring an emaciated character actor who had risen to television fame as a foil for the comedians Steve Allen and Andy Grif-

to Vanoff, who promptly made them head writers. By this time the American networks had mustered the tal' courage to huild television shows around such black comedians as Flip Wilson and Bill Richard Michael Hills, writer: Costy, and Green and Hills born Eltham, London 17 Januwrote for both of them. After

four years, a homesick Hills left

fiths. Because the show's head

writer Bill Dana thought little

programme. Green and Hills

showed their rejected sketches

Green and Hills, who had ap- America, amicably dissolving his partnership with Green, who stayed there to write for John-

ny Carson on The Tonight Show. Back in England, Hills devised and presented the anec-dotal series Tell Me Another for Southern Television, wrote two books, How to Stay Married (1995) and Delayed by Fog in Timbuktu - a Book of Excuses (1979), and provided material for Jasper Carrott, Tommy

Cooper and Russ Abbot. Despite his lugulatious, prize-fighter's face, Dick Hills had a sunny, easy-going nature, and was always generous with praise for his peers. When I worked with him on The Russ Abbot Show, he was full of admiration for Eddie Braben, who succeeded Green and Hills in writing for Morecambe and Wise. "Eddie shifted the balance of the team in a way that never occurred to us," he told me. "And making Ernie into the Great Playwight was a masterstroke!" Of his own performing, Dick was wont to say, "Sid's the one f.) with talent. I've just got guts!"

Terry Johnson's recent West examined a group of suburhanites obsessed with vintage British comedy. One of its highlights was, inevitably, Hills and Green's "Boom! Ooh! Ya-ta-ta-

Dick Vosburgh

ary 1926; married (three sons); died London 6 June 1996.

## Alan McGilvray

Alan McGilvray was, in a in Australia that when the Packphrase, the John Arlott of Aus- er war was at its height, with the tralia. The fact that two of the best known voices in cricket ries, backed by Channel Nine, were rarely in sympathy was an irony concealed from the huge following both men enjoyed in both hemispheres.

McGilvray enjoyed a greater status in Australia than Arlott did in Britain, a fact partly explained by the respective size of the two nations and also by McGilvray's one huge advantage: he had played first-class cricket, which made him much more acceptable to the establishment in both countries and gave him an edge over Arlott, who was sensitive on this point, Indeed, McGilvray was so big

in direct competition with the established game, backed by the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the ABC advertised across the continent: "The Game's not the Same without McGilvray". It was a telling

point, too, for many Australians. McGilvray came from a line of shoemakers, originally from Glasgow. He attended Sydney Grammar School, reached the first eleven in his second year and won city fame by scoring 129 not out and taking 7-32 against their deadly rivals Melbourne Grammar.

Such prowess took him into the New South Wales side, where his right-arm medium pace once deprived the great Bill O'Reilly of taking all 10 wickets. He played 20 times for NSW, sometimes as captain; but soon realised that his cricket could not he measured against the likes of Bradman and O'Reilly, and moved into broadcasting in the infant radio service in 1934. He served with the Australian army during the Second World War and when cricket re-started he soon became the familiar voice of the game across a country so vast he only daily link was radio.

He first came to Britain with

Bradman's 1948 Australians

enormous listening public. the joky, public-school ethos of

where his measured delivery. absolute accuracy, unobtrusive Australian accent and total impartiality (without ever disguising his sentiments) made him immensely popular with the What he was not was part of

what became Test Match Special; he was an ultra-professional. meticulous in his preparation, and he could, from contemporary accounts, be touchy with those he thought might compromise his approach. He did not lack a sense of humour hut indulging it came a poor second to giving the listener every morsel of cricket available from the green table before him.

English colleagues, Arlott, E.W. Swanton, Brian Johnston, Don Mosey, Henry Blofeld, accorded him the highest respect, as did all English jour-He reported more than 200 nalists who had the privilege of sharing a conversation or drink with him. He was always willing. with a smile, to explain to an ig-norant Pom the intricacies of the Sheffield Shield, or Jack

Iverson's grip.

He firmly believed that cricket should maintain its dignity. manners and spirit and was depressed by the impact Packer had upon the game and the attitude of Australian teams, from lan Chappell's captaincy, to-wards dress and general conduct. McGilvray conducted

himself impeccably in public and he thought all representatives of Australian cricket should do the same.

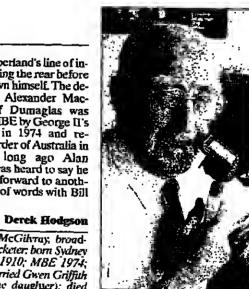
forbidden to appear.

Test matches and was one of several Australians who missed the famous tie against West Indies in Brisbane in 1960; his commentary stints complete, he caught an early plane back to Sydney. He came with every Australian team to England up till 1985 and in 1956 made a special journey to the battlefield of Culloden to see the cairn that marks the grave of Clan

Chatten. It was an ancestor who led the clan's charge on that tragic day in 1746, the first Jacobite to

breach Cumberland's line of infantry, reaching the rear before being cut down himself. The descendant of Alexander Mac-Gillivray of Dumaglas was appointed MBE by George II's descendant in 1974 and received the Order of Australia in 1980. Not long ago Alan McGilvray was heard to say he was looking forward to another exchange of words with Bill O'Reilly.

Alan David McGilvray, broadcaster and cricketer, born Sydney 6 December 1910; MBE 1974; AO 1980; married Gwen Griffith lone son, one daughter); died Sydney 17 July 1996.



Announcements for Gazette BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS (Births, Adoptions, Marriages, Deaths, Memorial services, Wedding anniversaries, In Memoriam) should be sent in writing to the Gazette Editor, The Independent, t Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London Et 45DL, telephoned to 0171-293 2011 (24-hour answering machine 0171-293 2012) or faxed to 0171-293 2010, and are charged at £6.50 a line (VAT extra). OTHER Gazette announcements (notices, functions, Forthcoming marriages, Marriages) must be submitted in writing for faxed) and are charged at £10 a line. VAT extra. They should be accompanied by a daytime telephone number.

The Independent's main switchboard number is 0171-293 2006.

ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS The Duke of Ethnburgh, Patron, London Federation of Clubs for Young People, gives a recupiton for the London Federation of Clubs for Young People at Buckingham Palace and attends a dinner at Lancaster raince and attents a trainer at Laborater House, London SWI. Princess Alexandra attends the St Dunstan's Reception at Win-field House. Regent's Park, London NWI. held House, Regent's Fath, London twill.

Prince Michael of Rent, Provincial Grand
Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of
Middlesex, attends the Workhipful Masters
and Intintes Reception at Syon Park.
Brentford, Middlesex.

Changing of the Guard The Household Cavalry Moumed Regi nounts the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, 1 tam: 1st Battalion trish Guards mounts the Queen's Guard, at Buckingham Palace, 11.30am, band provided by the Scots

#### Marriages

and Ms J. C. Swir The marriage has taken place in Lon-

don between David Cope and Caroline, etder daughter of Professor Richard and Mrs Monica Swinburne. A service of blessing was held on Friday 19 July at Holy Trinity Church, Kensington, at which Father Pierre Dil, Dean of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Lusaka, Zambia,

#### Birthdays

Mr Harry Barnes MP, 60; Dr Sir Reginald Bennett, former MP, 85; Mr Jetmund Engeset, Surgeon to the Queen in Scotland, 58; Mr Bryan Forbes, film producer, 70; Sir Patrick Garland, High Court judge, 67; Mr Jimmy Hill, television presenter, 68; General Sir Charles Huntable, former Commander-in-Chief, UK Land Forces, 65; Mrs Joanna Kennedy, civil engineer, 46; Miss Bonnie Lang-ford, actress, 32; Professor Sir Ronald Mason, chemist, 66; Dr David Ouarmby, joint managing director, J. Sainsbury pic, 55; Mr Terence Stamp, actor, 58; Mr Anthony Steen MP, 57; Mrs Alison Willcocks, Head of Bedales School, 44.

#### Anniversaries

Births: Philip I, King of Spain, 1478; Louis Gabriel Eugene Isabey, painter and lithographer, 1803; The Photography", 2.30pm.

Rev William Archibald Spooner. originator of "spoonerisms", 1844; Gus Elen (Ernest Augustus Elen), music-hall artiste, 1862; Stephen Vincent Benet, poet and novelist, 1898; Alexander Calder, bem-wire and metal sculptor, 1898. Deaths: Si-mon Langham, Archbishop of Cannon Langham, Archiestop of Can-lerhury, 1376; George Shaw, naturalist, 1813; Christopher Wühelm Eckersberg, painter, 1853; John Meade Falkner, novelist, 1932; Flo-renz Ziegfeld, theatrical producer, 1932; John Dillinger, "Public Enemy No 1", shot dead in an ambush 1924; Hendel J. spread crickster. 1934; Harold Larwood, cricketer. 1995. On this day: the English defeated the Scots, led by William Wallace, at the Bartle of Falkirk. 1298; the Mormous, moving westwards, reached the site of Salt Lake City, 1847; Federal troops stopped the Confederates at the Battle of Atlanta, 1864; in Britain, bread rationing started, 1946; after six years in exile, the Russian unmanned spacecraft Venera 8 made a soft landing on Venus, 1972; Greece and Turkey agreed to a cease-fire in Cyprus, 1974; the first London performance of the musical show A Chorus Line was staged, 1976. Today is the Feast Day of St John Lloyd, St Joseph of Pales-tine, St Mary Magdalen, St Philip Evans, St Vandrille or Wandregesshus.

Lectures Victoria and Albert Museum: Catheryn Spence, "Pre-Raphaelite Watercolours and Early Brirish The following notes of judgments were prepared by the reporters of the All England Law Reports.

Royscot Leasing Ltd. Allied Dometq plc, TC Harrison Group Ltd v Cus-

toms & Excise Commers; QBD (Turner I) 10 May 1996. Exclusion of credit for input tax on cars purchased for business purposes was valid. The UK was entitled to maintain the exclusion in derogation from the EC legislation pending the issue of a new directive laying down what goods might be excluded from credit for input tax. (With effect from 1 Aug 1995, art 7 of the VAT (Input Tax) Order 1992 was amended: the exclusion for the acquisition of cars was not to apply to cars acquired by a leasing husiness.) Andrew Thornhill QC, Kevin Prosser QC (Ashurst Morris Crisp) for Royscot, Allied Domecq; Stephen Alleock QC, Andrew Huchmough (Dibb Lupton Broomhead, Sheffield) Richard Plender QC, Geraldine

Stephen Brown & Kennedy, Phillips LJJ) 18 June 1996.

Car leasing A letter from the Home Office to a national of an EEA mem-

her state, who had been living in the UK and drawing income support, stating that as she was now present in a noneconomic capacity and had become a burden on public funds the Secretary of State was not satisfied that she was lawfully resident here under EC law and she should make arrangements to leave the country, had the effect that the recipient was a person who had been "required by the Secretary of State to leave the United Kingdom" for the purposes of reg 21(3)(h) of the Income Support (General) Regulations 1987 and was therefore no longer entitled to income support

Clarke (Treasury Solicitor) for the ap-

pellarus; John Howell QC, Stewart

Wright (Child Poveny Action Group)

for Wolke; Richard de Mello, Leon

Secretary of State for Social Secu- Duniel (Funell & Co. Woolwich) for rity v Remilies & Wolke, CA (Sir Ramilien.

for Harrison; Stephen Richards,

Raymond Hill (Customs & Excise).

#### CASE SUMMARIES

22 July 1996

Housing Camden LBC v Marshall; QB Div Ct (Heary LJ, Ebsworth J) 14 June

The offence created by s 376(1) of the Housing Act 1985, of wilfully failing to comply with a notice requiring the controller of a house in multiple occupation to execute works within a specified time, continued to he committed for so long as the works specified in the notice remained undone, notwithstanding the expiry of the time for commencement or completion of the work.

A. John Williams (Amanda Kelly, Camden) for the council; Julian Knowles (Radeliffes Crossman Block) for the respondent.

#### Magistrates

R v Newport Justices, ex p Carey; QB Div Ct (Henry LJ and Elementh J) 7 June 1996.

Justices were entitled to decline although he had been in court were not absolute. It was a matallhough he had been in court were not absolute. It was a matallation, Horsham) for the appellant.

when the trial date was fixed. that civilian witnesses would be inconvenienced, and that the Crown's case was a strong one.

The justices could also have taken into account the applicant's unfettered right of appeal to the Crown Court under \$108 of the 1980 Act and that as that appeal would be by way of a rehearing the applicant would not be deprived of a fair trial. Theodore D. Huckle (Hodson Parsons, Newport) for the applicant.

R v South Ribble Magistrates' Court, ex p Cochrane, QB Div Ct (Henry LJ and Ebsworth J) 7 June

A stipendiary magistrate's discretion to permit a prosecution witness to refresh his memory from a non-contemporaneous statement made to the police, that he had read outside court just prior to giving evidence. was not restricted to circumto reopen a case, under \$142 of stances where all four of the crithe Magistrates' Courts Act teria laid down by Rv Da Silva 1980, on the grounds that the applicant had failed to appear. (1990) 90 Cr App R 233 at 238 were fulfilled. Those criteria

ter of fact and degree in each case as to how the discretion should he exercised. Kevin Talbot (Norton & Co, Liver pool) for the applicant: Paul C. Reid (Crown Prosecution Service, Preston) for the respondent.

Tachograph Swain v McCaul: QB Div Ct [Auld LJ, Sachs, Harrison JJ) 5 June

The owner and driver of private skip hire vehicle, collecting and disposing of waste as a commercial service to customers whose activities generated large quantities of rubbish, were not performing a gener-al service in the public interest so as to fall within the exemption from keeping tachograph records provided by art 4(6) of EEC Regulation 3820/85. The test of whether a service was being performed in the public interest was whether it was one in which the State had marked its interest by prescription and regulation, and whether it was provided by a public body or by private bodies in some measure of controlled competition with each other.

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# Why one-time bellwether ICI has become a bit of an old plodder

Imperial Chemical Industries is not the power it was. At one time it was regarded as the bellwether of British industry and its profits were an important

event in the City calendar. Times change. Even before three years ago Zeneca was ICI bowed to Lord Hanson's 632p. ICI 608p. The price beown brand of persuasiveness and demerged its drugs side it

had slipped from its pedestal. The likes of the General Electric Co were seen as more representative of industry and ICI lost some of its corporate fascination.

Its shares have tended to reflect its changed status. And, as expected, they have been overshadowed by Zeneca, its drugs

As Zeneca has enjoyed the stock market's addiction to drugs - and experienced pulsating rounds of takeover speeulation - its shares have low than high.

one-for-one share basis. Ignoring the drug side's cash call at the time of the break-up, its shares are nearly twice the value of ICL. On demerger day

fore the split was 1,244p. There is not much chance of an upward re-rating on Thursday when ICI produces interim

figures. They will be poor. Two decades ago such a setback would have been taken badly. This time it should not create more than a few ripples so long as 1Ct keeps the fall within market expectations. Nat West Securities is looking for £198m in the second

month profits at around £400m, a 22 per cent fall. The group has already warned of a decline. With certain important product markets

quarter which will leave six-

Zeneca was floated off on a evitably be starker than man-ne-for-one share basis agement had first anticipated." says analyst Lucas Herrmann

at Nat West. Profits for the full year are estimated at £830m (against

£951m). For next, a recovery lo £1.05bn has been penedled in. Thorn EMI is likely to suffer a similar fate when it demerges next mooth. Once again the idea is to allow the glamprous side of the business music - to stand alone, free

from the encumbrance of a rather staid rentals division. There has been continuing speculation an overseas bidder will barge into the comfy divorce proceedings. But it now looks as though the split will not suffer outside interference and the rumoured predators seeking the showbiz nperatinn are content to wait until the decree

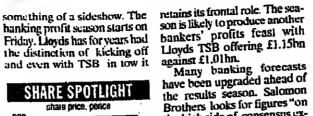
absolute. The group is due to produce



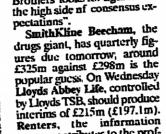
STOCK MARKET WEEK

DEREK PAIN

Stock market reporter of the year



REUTERS



is on the cards.

BT, originally expected last week, is another big gun firing. It, too, has quarterly figures on Thursday and, rather like ICI. is likely to suffer the indignity of a profit fall. The market is looking for a three month outturn of about £850m against

£874m. Last week, with few major results to occupy them, shares spent the first three days sinking and the last two making up some of the lost ground.

New York provoked turmoil, which encouraged crazy talk of another crash, reminding a few old-stagers of advice from a former Stock Exchange chairman, Lord Ritchie.

After a particularly crunching session, when the FT 30 index, the market measurement at the time, had falleo 30 points and there was emotional talk nf looming stock market disaster he was asked what the small investors should do.

it all wash over you," be replied. Any private investor who fullowed such advice last week would have emerged with his portfolio not too badly

bruisco. There was without doubt deep concern among some small investors, with unit trust withdrawals prompting some fund managers to seek to uoload stock.

Footsie ended 17.8 points down and even the supporting 250 index, hit harder than the blue chip index. looked more confident. But the market remains fragile, Low summer share trading means it is at the mercy of the swings and roundabouts of the futures market as well as icy overseas blasts.

New York is no longer the influence it used to be. Even so, when the world's higgest market sneezes Londoo (and the rest) shiver. Alan Greenspan's hint that US interest rates are

the Senate. So there could just possibly - be more freedom for domestic rates. This week's home-produced statistics include retail sales for June and

the preliminary GDP estimate. They could influence the Chancellor's thinking when he has his monthly chin-wag with the Governor of the Bank of

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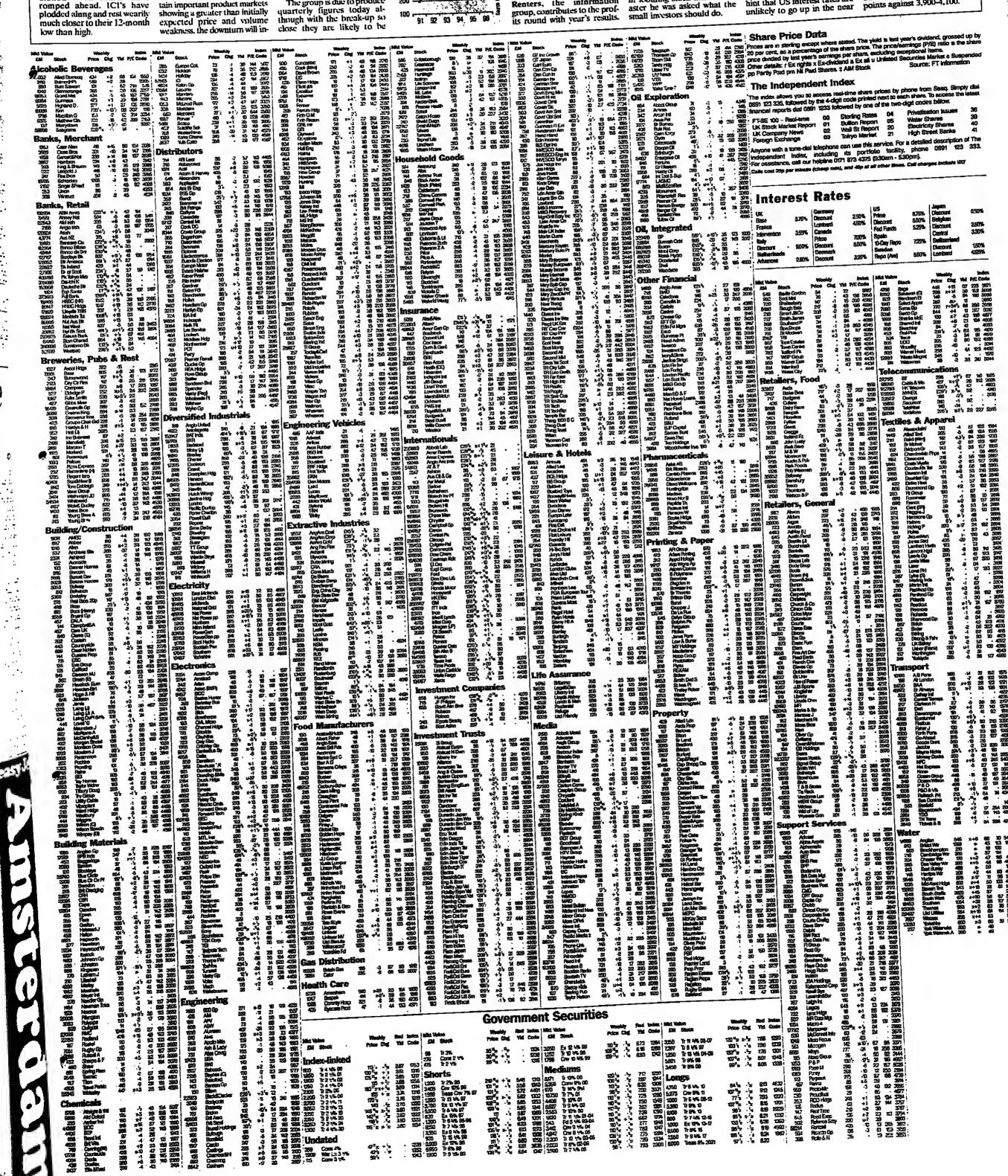
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England next week. There is no doubt the Chancellor still yearns for lower rates and another cut is a distinct possibility. Germany may be obliged to reduce its rates; so even the eventual but seeming inevitable US increase could be accommodated.

Cheaper money would help the market achieve some of the more optimistic forecasts. However there are signs of expectations being reduced. Société Générale Strauss Turnbull has lowered its yearend Footsie estimate to 3,850 points against 3,900-4,100.



## BUSINESS NEWS DESK: tel 0171-293 2636 fax 0171-293 2098 BSkyB in talks with OFT on cable programming deal

**MATHEW HORSMAN** Media Editor

BSkyB, the satellite hroadcaster, is locked in late-stage negotiations with the Office of Fair Trading over the terms of its supply of pay-television programming to the cable industry.

The talks, aimed at avoiding a monopoly reference, follow a six-month inquiry by the OFT into BSkyB's dominant position

market, and could lead to vened EC competition law. The clauses were deemed anti-comformal undertakings on the terms and conditions of its trading relationship with cahle operators.

BSkyB, owned 40 per cent by Rupert Murdoch, is also under scrutiny from the European Commission, which warned in a letter sent late last month that its special contracts with two leading cable operators, Telewest Communications and

contracts, which have already been the subject of negotiations with the OFT, give the two cable operators long-term guar-anteed supply of BSkyB programming.

In return, they originally agreed not to compete with BSkyB in the market for payper-view film and sport programming, in effect ending efforts by cable companies to in the subscription television Nynex Cable Comms, contra- launch new services. These to accelerate its investigation

petitive by the OFT, hut modifications have yet to be agreed.

In its formal letter, edited copies of which have been circulated to cable operators, Brussels has asked BSkyB to confirm it intends to modify the contracts.

It is also understood that John Bridgeman, the directorgeneral of the OFT, has asked the Restrictive Practices Court into BSkyB's contracts with the Premier League, which give the broadcaster exclusive rights

to live matches. The developments are likely to deepen market concerns about the regulatory risks facing BSkyB, the UK's most proftable broadcaster. Analysis said late last week, however, that minimum undertakings agreed with the OFT would not necessarily weaken BSkyB's com-petitive position.

The six-month OFT inquiry, completed within the past few weeks, led regulators to open direct talks with BSkvB. asking the company to consider undertakings on its "bundling" of channels for sale to cable and on the way the programming is priced. It is understood that the Independent Television Commission, the television watch-

dog, has also been told of the

OFT's initial findings and its

most certain to advise the Department of Trade and Industry to refer the matter to the Monopolies and Mergers Com-

Media analysts said over the weekend that an MMC reference could suit BSkyB, because of the length of time it would take to complete. The company is working on plans to introduce digital satellite, perhaps by the end of 1997, and expects even-

If the talks fail, the OFT is al-

analogue pay service.
The OFT inquiry followed months of complaints from several cable operators, which argued that they could not package their programming in response to market conditions because of Sky's terms of supply. The key areas of dispute have been hundling – by which operators are obliged to take a range of Sky channels to receive the best discount - and price.

Three cheers: Reprieve for tied-house system eases fears of chaos that followed Beer Orders

## Brewers poised to win EU stay of execution

JOHN SHEPHERD Business News Editor

Britain's tied-house system operated by the brewers is poised to win a two-year stay of execution from the European Union. The EU's decision will relieve fears that it would severely curtail, and perhaps even dismantle, the 160-year-old system that has enabled the brewers to have complete control over the beers that their pubs

The industry has barely re-covered from the huge and controversial upheaval caused by the 1989 Beer Orders that forced the top-flight brewers to sell more than 11,000 pubs. Any similar directive handed castle, the industry number down by Brussels now would in one. Late last month, Mr Van the eyes of many analysts, have caused unnecessary disruption and damage to an industry recovering from the recession hut still struggling against the tide of bootlegged booze from across the Channel.

Competition Commissioner, is understood to he close to finalising plans that will defer the review due next year of the industry's exemption from anticompetitive laws under Article 85 of the Treaty of Rome. According to a Brussels source, the EU, which has yet to publish its long-awaited green paper on all tied manufacturing and retail operations from petrol to bread, will retain the status quo for Britain's brewers until 1999.

The reprieve, which sources said could be announced very soon, would follow extensive lobbying by MPs, Euro MPs, and the hrewers, beaded by Bass, Whitbread, Allied Domecq and Scottish & New-Miert made a flying visit to Britain to address the North

West Brewers and Licensed Retailers Association at a meeting hosted by Gary Titley, Euro MP for Bolton. At the meeting, which was also attended by David Kay of

Thwaites brewery and held at the Jolly Carter pub in Botton, run by Rees Gibbon, Mr Van Miert signalled his intentions about the industry by saying that he was considering modifying the system rather than instigating a thorough shake-up. That was particularly welcome news for small brewers, which feared collapse if they were forced to part company with Questioned about the "mod-

ifications", an industry source said yesterday that Mr Van Miert might introduce an appeals system for landlords to challenge their beer tie with

An appeal, the source said, would have to demonstrate that the tie restricted trade, and was anti-competitive in nature. Such a system would be wel-

come for the hundreds of publicans of the Immrepreneur pub company, which is jointly owned by Grand Metropolitan and Fosters of Australia. Many of them have challenged – both through UK courts and the EU - the terms of 20-year Inntrepreneur leases that require - now owned by S&N - at full list prices despite a price war between the top brewers.

Free houses are still able to obtain hig discounts of up to £70 a 36-gallon barrel of beer, and the same is true for the new pub companies that were formed in the wake of the forced sale of 11,000 pubs between 1989 and

Many of the pnh groups, from Greenalls which aban-



Cheered: Brewers have welcomed the extra time for pubs Photograph: Peter Macdiarmid

doned hrewing in the late 1980s to fledgling companies like Century Inns, have used purchasing muscle to extract financially favourable heer supply agreements from brewers for up to seven-year terms.

It is understood that Mr Van Miert has recognised that the tied-house system's dominance

of the beer market is not as strong as it used to be and continues to decline. Fresh research by analysts at SBC Warburg shows that the market control exerted by the hrewers

in the few years since the Beer Orders took effect has weakened considerably. SBC Warburg says that in

1989 some 52 per cent of the ontrade outlets were tied, and accounted for 43 per cent of total beer consumption.

It now estimates that only 38 per cent of on-trade outlets are tied and account for only 27 per cent of beer sales, and predicts by 2000 that the respective figures will he 30 and 20 per cent. | will not be as high as expected,

## **HMSO** bidders likely to halve value of sale

The planned sell-off of HMSO. the Government's publishing and stationery arm, expected to he announced this week, could be thrown into jeopardy at the last minute by hidders determined to renegotiate their

offers for the business. Each of the three remaining hidders is understood to want to discuss a number of issues with the Government. The final price is likely to be less than half the £100m the Government originally hoped to raise from the sale.

One key unresolved issue is whether the financial informatioo about HMSO originally made available to hidders will justify the offers made for the husiness once a closer investigation is carried out.

There are some people who nay say that everything is rosy in the garden in order to persuade the vendor that they are very positive about running the husiness," a source said. "But there are still many points that

are unresolved." The three potential buyers left in the race to buy the publisher of official documents are Westminster Information Sys-tems, backed by NatWest Ventures and Rank Xerox, Fleming Electra and a consortium including 3i, the venture capital company and Mercury Asset

Management. ervant Freeman, the Public Services Minister, are helieved to be close to reaching a decision on the winner of the bid. Mr Freeman is expected to announce the result later this week.

However a source close to one bidder said yesterday that despite a scaling down of offers from £100m to hetween £50m and £70m, following a warning that HMSO's profits this year

attempts to re-negotiate further

"Although all three are still keen on the husiness, there is still a lot of talking to do even after an announcement is made," the source said. "After the new profits forecast, HMSO is not as attractive as it was and there are still some things to iron out"

Another bidder said: "I think it is fair to say that the financial information coming out of HMSO is quite poor. One of the issues will be to review the fig-ures and see whether the bid made is supported by the financial evidence."

Binder Hamlyn, investigating accountants acting for the Government, are reviewing current financial information and preparing a report to be made available to successful bidders. HMSO is the Government

agency responsible for a range of publishing activities, including Hansard, passports and welfare benefits books. Government estimates sug-

gest it is likely to make profits of between £7 and £8m this year. This follows losses of £42m last year, £28m due to redundancy payments.

After the Government's announcement in September last year that it intended to priva-tise HMSO, the business was formally advertised in Marck. with a shortlist of four organisations drawn up two months

One, led by Hamhros, dropped out recently.

Fear of embarrassing failures to deliver passports or benefits books, together with potential criticisms of poor service to MPs, have led civil servants overseeing the tender process to tread warily

All bidders have given assurances that the services they provide will be of a high stan-

Network

The I.T. marketplace for the

latest news in computing and

telecommunications with

pages of career opportunities

in these expanding industries

## CINMan purchase boosts Goldman

#### JOHN WILLCOCK

The t8-month quest for a huy-er for CINMan, British Coal's £15.6bn pension fund manager, ended yesterday when US investment bank Goldman Sachs agreed to buy the company. Goldman did not name a figure, hut it is understood that the price was £40m-£50m.

The deal promotes Goldmans into the ranks of the world's top 25 money man-agers, with \$85bn under man-Fund management companies

have been at a premium, particularly in London, since investment hanks realised that fund management was vital in smoothing volatile earnings from their traditional securities and corporate finance activities. Goldman refused to say how

much it had paid for CINMan. British Coal's attempts to wind down its activities since the

sale of its mining business in 1994 have been hit by crises at CINMan. First there was a wellpublicised row between British Coal and the pension fund's trustees, which was followed by the withdrawal of front-runner Friends Provident.

It had offered £70m but failed to agree terms. Subsequent efforts to re-open negotiations with Dutch insurance group Robeco, second in the queue. were short-lived.

For Goldman the acquisition is an attempt to catch up with its "hulge hracket" rivals, Morgan Stanley and Merrill Lynch. Peter Sutherland, chairman and managing director of Goldman Sachs International, said: "We look forward to a long and successful relationship with the two Coal pension schemes."

Analysis said Goldman had until now concentrated on the low-margin husiness of shortterm money market funds.

## Foreign investment lifts regions

#### DIANE COYLE

Investment by foreign firms is helping manufacturing industry in some regions escape the weak national trend. Scotland, Wales, the East

Midlands and Northern Ireland have escaped the recession afflicting manufacturing since late last year. All have enjoyed above-average foreign invest-ment, according to a report published today by consultancy

Business Strategies.

"Manufacturing industry is baving a poor year at the national level, with a forecast growth rate of only 0.5 per cent, but it is very noticeable that all of the regions where manufacturing output appears to be buoyant are those which have all received substantial amounts of foreign direct in-vestment," said Neil Blake, research director.

The survey found the regions struggling most during the current industrial downturn are

the North West, Yorkshire and Humberside, suffering from excess levels of stocks and a downturn in export markets. The three all have lower-thanaverage foreign investment. The one exception to the rule is the North, which has high inward investment, but has been

beld back by depressed metals and chemicals industries. However, the report says regional differences are not as sharp as they once were. Dr Blake said: "Despite hig variations in regional performance of manufacturing industry, the differences in overall economic growth rates will not he as great as we would once have expected. The weakness of manufacturing industry is being masked by strengthening consumer spending, and a greater spread of service industry locations means that the benefits

The consultancy shares Chancellor Kenneth Clarke's optimism about consumer spending next year. It forecasts a pick-up of 4.2 per cent following 3 per cent spending

growth this year. Services and consumer-related industries remain concentrated in London and the South-east, which means they with enjoy the fastest overaft GDP growth, at 3.7 and 3.4 per cent, respectively next year.

## Devon measures quality of life

Citizens in one part of Britain are challenging the assumption that economic activity is the best guide to quality of life, writes Di-

The West Devon Environmental Network today launches a project to measure well-being using a mixture of conventional economic statistics and envirunmental indicaturs. The group claims it is the first such

project to be run hy local peo-

The measures used, pitoted by Judith Matthews, an academic at the University of Plymouth, will range from unemployment to the incidence of asthma, water quality and damsel fly numbers.

The West Devon initiative is part of a trend that has started to filter through to more con-

publications compure countries on the basis of environmental and quality of life indicators.

The United Nations Human Development Report and a survey from the OECD include indicators ranging from inequality and unemployment to crime rates and greenhouse gas emissions.

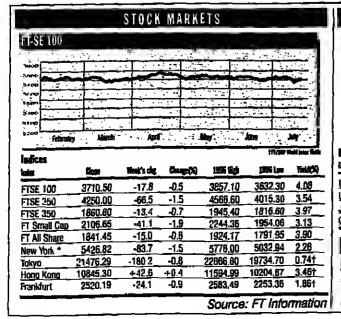
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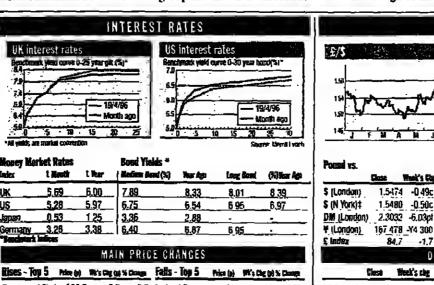
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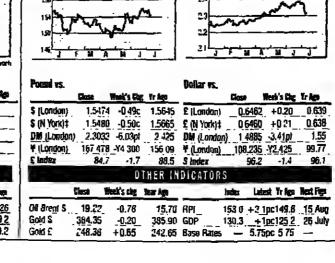
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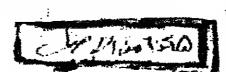
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#### **GAVYN DAVIES**

'From 1993 to 1996. real GDP in the US has grown by 10.2 per cent, while that in core Europe (Germany and France, which have essentially foilowed a common monetary policy) has grown by 4 per cent. Over that period, America has created

more than 9 million

shed over 2 million'

jobs, while the EU has

#### What the Bundesbank can learn from the Fed Hans Tretmeyer, president of the Bun- in 1993 to 2 per cent now. So the European | beginning to feel that they are running up a | often been in the lead in pointing out that | overall monetary conditions in the US have descending escalator - with the central long bond yields are at least as important as | been persistently supportive of economic puter is asked to choose the governor of the future European Central Bank. The com-

puter has no doubt - it should he Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve in Washington. He alone, says the computer, has the required experience of running monetary policy in a large currency area, consisting of many different states, joined together in political union.

Apart from giving some insight into how the Bundesbank views the link between monctary and political integration, this story is interesting because it encapsulates a feeling becoming widespread in Europe - that we have a lot to learn from the way in which monetary policy has recently been conducted in the US. This is a novelty since, for most of the post-war period, the world has looked to the Bundesbank, not to the Federal Reserve, for guidance on how to run monetary policy.

Yet recent evidence in favour of the Fed has become compelling. From 1993 to 1996, real GDP in the US has grown by 10.2 per cent, while that in core Europe (Germany and France, which have essentially followed a common monetary policy) has grown by 4 per cent. Over that period, America has created more than 9 million jobs, while the EU has shed over 2 million. As a result of this strong economic expansion, the US has rather painlessly reduced its hudget deficit from 4.4 to 1.6 per cent of GDP while in care Europe the deficit has remained stuck at 4 per cent, despite countless packages of tax rises and cuts in public services.

On the other side of the ledger is the inflation performance of the two areas. In the US, inflation has remained stuck at just under 3 per cent throughout the period, while in core Europe inflation has fallen from 3.5 per cent

countries have enjoyed a relative improve-ment of around 1.5 per cent in inflation, but this has come at the expense of a cumulative loss of output over four years of over 6 per cent. Clearly, there are many in Europe

who are beginning to wonder whether this was really worthwhile.

In France, for example, President Chirac complained strongly last week about the stance of monetary policy, saying that interest rates were "clearly too high". By tradition, the federal government in Germany does not openly criticise the Bundesbank hut it would be surprising if the same sentiments were not being expressed in private in Frankfurt. Essentially, Chancellor Kohl and President Chirac have started to focus on the political hell of yet again trying to cut public spending sufficiently to hit the Maastricht targets on budget deficits next year.

This has been made immeasurably more

descending escalator - with the central bankers controlling the speed of descent but it is also beginning to dawn on them the whole EMU project is becoming associated in the political consciousness with recession and budget cutbacks. And it has also dawned, belatedly perhaps, that monetary policy offers them a route out of this impasse.

The central bankers in Continental Europe would no doubt reply that inflation was substantially above their 2 per reot objective a couple of years ago, so they had to keep monetary policy tight to retain credibility. There might be some truth in this. They would also point out that real short-term interest rates have been below their historical average since the middle of 1993, so it is hardly fair to accuse them of imposing a dracunian monetary squeeze. But it is disingenuous to claim that the overall stance of

long bond yields are at least as important as short rates in determining monetary conditions, and many economists would wish to

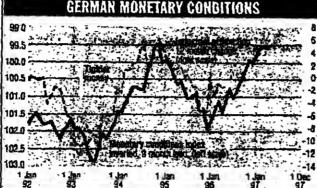
add the exchange rate into the mix as well. Central bankers are not wholly in control of bond yields or the exchange rate. But nor are these factors totally outside their control and their behaviour must be taken imo account when setting short rates. One way of doing this is to devise a weighted index of overall monetary conditions, with the weights being determined by the impact of each of the different monetary inputs on GDP growth. John Simpson of Goldman Sachs has recently done this for all of the main industrial countries, and the results for the US and Germany are shown in the graphs. (Note that the index of monetary conditions is plotted with a lead of nine months to show what it implies for the future growth of industrial production.) It is interdifficult by last winter's mini-recession in monetary conditions in the EU can be sumContinental Europe, which still appears to be dragging on. Not only are the politicians fact, the central bankers themselves have since 1992, and especially in 1995. Whereas

been persistently supportive of economic growth, there has only been a short period where this has been the case in Germany (or in France, for that matter). It is not difficult. in this context, to explain why a mini-recession developed in the EU last year, or indeed to explain why the slowdown in the US was nothing like as severe as it was in Europe the difference is fully picked up by the behaviour of the monetary conditions index.

The two factors that drove European mon-etary conditions towards tightness in 1995 were the rise in the mark against the dollar, and the earlier increase in bond yields, which was more savage in the EU than the US. Although it is often said by policy-makers that the drop in European activity last year was hard to explain, and indicative of a deeper rooted problem of cost competitiveness, this is not supported by these data. It looks sus-piciously as if there was just an old-fashioned policy mistake, with the central bankers fail-ing to cut short rates sufficiently to offset the restrictive effects of rising bond yields and an appreciating exchange rate.

This error, if such it was, seems to have

been largely eliminated, and the monetary index implies the policy stance is already expansionary enough in Europe to ensure a solid recovery in output over the balance of this year. But the central bankers cannot afford to take this for granted. The renewed afford to take this for granted. The renewed rise in the mark last week, and in bond yields this year, are reminders that the authorities used to keep short rates low, or drop them further, to prevent a re-run of the unintended tightening of 1994/95. There is little doubt that, if Mr Greenspan were governor of a European central bank, he would do just that Dandershap will do the that. Perhaps the Bundesbank will do the same at its meeting on Thursday.



**US MONETARY CONDITIONS** 

#### Head of Courtaulds talks to Tom Stevenson

## Confessions of a company 'lifer'

Shortly after it was announced that Gordon Campbell was to succeed Sipko Huismans at the top of Courtaulds, he received a call from Harvard University. They were running a two-day course on how to be a chief executive - would he like to enrol? To the amusement of his colleagues - who thought two days was far too long to learn all he would need to know - Mr

Campbell signed up right away.
Following in the inimitable footsteps of his larger-than-life predecessor, he was humble enough to admit he could probably do with all the tips he could pick up. The lesson he learnt was not what he expected at all, but a useful one for someone planning the future of a multinational corpora-

tion, employing 17,000 staff in 43 countries. "What I came away with was the

overwhelming realisation that my American counterparts were completely driven by the material rewards of their jobs in a way that we in Britain don't approach. We spent most of the two days talking about remuneration.

That he was surprised says a lot about Courtaulds' new chief executive, a self-confessed "lifer" with the chemicals and fibres giant and the antithesis of the flash American corporate hig-shot. You do not get to he boss of a company the size of Courtaulds by just being a nice hloke, but the abiding impres-sion given by Mr Campbell is of

sales to the Far East

ing 18 holes and having a couple of pints with. His new-found American friends would think him a regular kind of guy, but might question whether be was driven enough to count as one

Get him out on that golf course, however, and it would not take long to understand how the junior production manager. fresh from his Cambridge in 1968, came to rise to the top of the only company he has ever worked for while still (just) in his forties. How's his golf? "Pretty good, actually. I played off six when I was at school. I don't really play now, but last week, entertaining some Japan-

THE MONDAY INTERVIEW

GORDON CAMPBELL

I know how to hit a golf ball."

Behind the bank manager self-

effacement lies someone who

main board, the last two as

deputy chief executive, he is well

of tough decisions in the com-

ing years to test that assessment. Well-regarded as Mr Huismans

was, Mr Campbell's outgoing,

confident sports-mad prede-cessor presided over a period of

declining earnings per share and

There are likely to be plenty

knows what he's good at.

known and respected.

price. There is plenty of hard work to do if the company's undoubted technical excellence and innovation is to be converted into tangible results.

In those circumstances, it is not surprising that there are some who believe Courtaulds might have been better served by an outside appointment. "It is possible to argue it both ways but ultimately I will be d on my ne don't think, however, that you should expect any dramatic change in strategy. I've been on the board since 1987 and if I didn't agree with the strategy, then we should have changed it or I should have departed," says Mr Campbell.

That strategy remains to focus on Courtaulds' three core businesses coatings and scalants, where it

ese partners, I came back in 43. leads the world in marine and yacht paints; polymer products. such as packaging and high tech polyester films; and chemicals and fibres, including Tencel, a new lightweight mammade His self-confidence is apparently shared in the City, where fibre that has taken Japan and after nine years on Courtaulds America by storm.

Tucked away in a troubled division that was clobbered last year by wildly fluctuating raw material prices and a demand roller-coaster, it is easy to forget that Tencel is a genuine suc-cess story. Based on research carried out in the UK, first commercial production in the US and the development of an initial market in Japan, the new socalled "wonder fibre" has shown that Courtaulds can still produce exciting new products

and sell them around the world. Mr Campbell admits that the biggest challenge is to increase Courtaulds' exposure to the Far East where a target of 25 per cent of group sales by the year 2000 has been set. Managing the move away from a US/Europe based business to a genuine world player, and bringing on the local management to run that global business, will be

how Mr Campbell is judged. He knows that, but also knows the limits to what one man can achieve: "What I have to do is create a style for management that allows people to make their maximum contribution. That means creating the right atmosphere and encouraging everyone I come into contact with to operate that way." If people don't agree with what we are doing they should feel confident enough to speak out."

Will it make a measurable difference? "I am certain we will turn the corner this year. I see signs of it happening but we said all along it would be September before there was a significant improvement in performance. But we do have to deliver a very sharp improvement."

He concludes: "Overall, we have to find the trick of growing the whole of the group, not just some of it, and eliminating other parts. That means everybody must perform, because there is no point holding on to Showing his fibre: Gordon Campbell is determined to lift businesses that don't. "It looks Photograph: Sally Soames like the golf will have to wait.

## Why directors need to go back to school

#### ROGER TRAPP

Company directors have been in the news mainly over their "fat cat" salaries. But this is of far less importance than the "performing" side to their du-ties, according to a new book.

This does not refer to their

provess on stage. Rather, it means their ability to do the job. One of the paradoxes of management is that while it is universally accepted that training is needed throughout the organisation below board level. few dare suggest it should ap-

ply to directors. Consequently,

training courses for directors are

of Boh Garratt, author of The Fish Rots from the Head (HarperCollins, £18), this weakness must be remedied.

"Worryingly, under present institutional and legal structures, it is only in a crisis that directors might, much too late, become aware of what is required of them," he writes. An international consultant on director development and strategic thinking, he believes that not preparing directors adequately for their role lets them carry on doing what they were before -

managing.
You might think that being a

few and far between. In the view director is a reward for being an effective manager and requires little more than supervising the person who has taken on those responsibilities. But Mr Garratt sees a distinction between the hands-on business of managing and the more intellectual ac-

tivity of directing.
The latter demands a broader approach and the ability to stand hack from day-to-day tasks to concentrate on such issues as policy formulation, strategic thinking, management supervision and accountability. The board's job, he writes, is to keep striking balances between internal and external pressures

on the organisation to ensure its survival. This entails giving a clear direction to the business and creating the climate in which others can align and attune themselves to that. It is because many business

people have spent their careers doing rather than thinking that they find this aspect of being a director daunting. He might add that this could also account for their susceptibility to the services of management consul-

In the book - whose title stems from a Chinese proverb of dubious provenance - he sets

through developing directors in much the same way as their sub-ordinates have been in recent years, But all is not lost. Mr Garratt is confident that, by following certain guidelines and learning processes, individual directors and boards as a whole can reach required levels of competence.

Companies are reluctant to send directors on courses because that might suggest they consider themselves incompetent, But Mr Garratt claims that courses nm by organisations like the Institute of Directors are attracting interest from some

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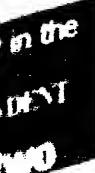
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Things are

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pickled eggs

Acetic acid gives us vinegar and videos. And now it's easier to

household cleaner.

ridium, one of the rarest

Llarge part of the chemical

industry, thanks to a group of British chemists based at Hull.

They have discovered that an

iridium catalyst can boost pro-

duction of acetic acid by around

30 per cent. This is the acid used

to make wallpaper, paint, cur-tains, curpets, clothes and nail

varnish. It is also an essential ingredient in pickled onions.

chutney, tomaio ketchup and

salt and vinegar crisps.
World production of acetic

acid exceeds 5 million tons a year, and by the end of this

Molecule

tion at the company's Texas

City plant, where output has

increased by 80,000 tonnes a

year. There are also plans to

introduce the new technology

at BP's other plants around the

world, including Humberside,

Acetic acid, also known as

ethanoic acid, is a small mole-

cule that humans have been

manufacturing for thousands of

years, from the time we began

making fermented drinks,

When the hacterium azohacter

gets into these drinks, it turns the alcohol into acetic acid,

making it sour thence the vine-gar, from vin aigre. Old French

for sour wine) and undrinkable,

but not unusable.
Food pickled in vinegar can
be preserved for months, and so

alcoholie liquors were deliber-

ately converted to wine, cider

and malt vinegars. Acetic acid

acts as a preservative parity due

to its acidity but mainly

because it inhibits spoilage

organisms, particularly yeasts

and bacteria, in solutions as

weak as 0.1 per cent. Acctic

acid is used in bread-making to

prevent the spores of Bacillus

mesentericus from germinating,

Pure acetic acid is a colourless

liquid that boils at 118C, but is

not as corrosive as other pure

acids, so has been used to

would only encounter acetic acid

as a 5 per cent solution in water,

remove warts. Normally, we

causing the bread to go ropy.

Month 7

metals, is set to transform a

Third rate poet is passable

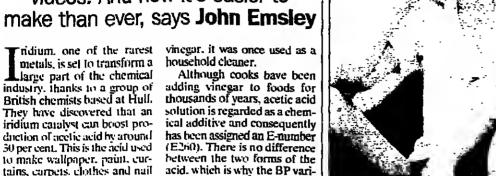
11 Wood's non-starter for structural support (4) 12 Nick copper item of spurious value (II)

- 3

go round police departmen: (8)

22 Revolutionary quarter? 15.5) Is said to be staff writer (4) Celchrate when no longer

on endless duty (5)



we stake our lives

but refers to our ability to under-

the normal desires and decisions

Daniel Dennett, a philoso-

Boston, gives another example

of other motorists.

horseradish cream. An early method of making acetic acid was to heat wood chippings. The liquid distilled was mainly a solution of acetic acid. Today, most companies make it from methanol, made from the mixture of carbon monoxide and hydrogen gas produced by reacting natural gas with steam. When methanol is mixed with more carbon monoxide it forms acetic acid-given the right catalyst. Chemists at Monsanto, the

ety finds its way into pickles,

chuincys, cheeses, salad cream,

brown sauces, mint jelly, and

US chemical company, discovered the first such catalyst, based on rhodium iodide, which BP has used until now. The new catalyst is the work of Mark Howard, John Cook and Derick Watson, who found that iridium acetate worked even better. Both rhodium and iridium belong to the so-called platinum group of metals, all of which are rare. Rhodium is five times rarer than gold, hut iridium is 300

times rarer, yet much cheaper. But indium acetate alone is not enough. "We have devised a new system that depends on promoter molecules to activate the iridium catalyst to work efficiently, and with them we get a quicker reaction with fewer side products, claims John Artken, BP's process technology manager. For the time being, the company is keeping these

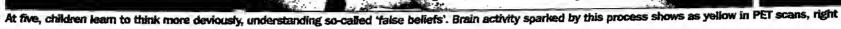
promoter molecules secrel.

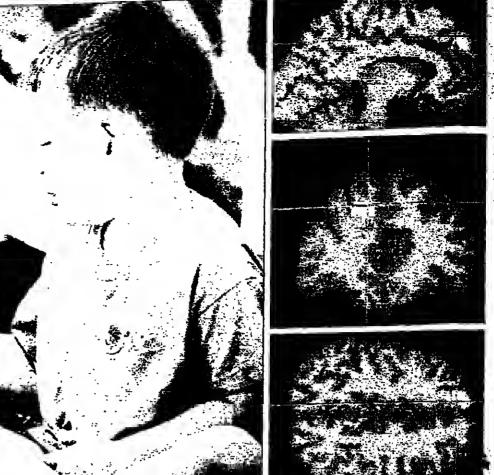
The largest single use of industrial acetic acid is to make vinyl acetate monomer, used in paints, adhesives, textile treatments and paper coatings. Another major use is making polyester which is turned into fibres, polyethylene hottles, audio and video tapes. Acetic acid is also needed for viscose and rayon yarns, for printing inks and for over-the-counter medicines such as aspirin and ibupro-fen. Other products include vitamins A and C. washing powders, jeans, leather goods, photographic film and filter tips.

Dr John Emsley is science writer in residence at Imperial College.



The sauce of it: acetic acid makes ketchup - and aspirin





## Mindreader? Yes, you are

Guessing other people's thoughts is an essential human very time we ven-ture out on the road, skill. And now we know which part of the brain gives us on our ability to read minds, a skill we take for granted. Having a "theory of mind", as this ability is known, is nothing to do with telepathy this 'theory of mind'. Sanjida O'Connell reports

stand that other people have thoughts, beliefs and desires. The children were asked where Sally would look for her Whether driving or waiting to walk across a road, we rely on marble. Adults know that Sally our general expectations about will look for it in her basket. She bas a false belief about the marble's location. Children younger than four or five (the pher from Tufts University, exact age varies) give the wrong answer: they point to the box, where the marble really is. of how we continuously and

age of five could got these questions right. The fact that

helief-desire reasoning emerges

at approximately the same age

in such diverse settings strengthens the claim that this

mode of reasoning is a univer-

sal feature of normal human

understand a false helief hap-

pens relatively suddenly for a

child, there is a definite devel-

opmental progression leading

up to it. It starts with one-year-

old infants, who begin to follow

the direction of another per-

son's gaze when they look at objects. About six months later.

they look where someone is

pointing, rather than at their

Although the ability to

development, says Dr Avis.

unconsciously use theory of This understanding of false mind: "... walching a film with beliefs opens the gates to a full a highly original and unstereocomprehension of other people. typed plot, we see the hero smile at the villain and we all It is a skill understood the world over. It can be demonstrated swiftly and effortlessly arrive at among preliterate people living an ancient bunter-galberer the same diagnosis: 'Aha!' we conclude (but perhaps not conlifestyle, such as the Baka sciously). He wants her to think pygmies of the rainforests of south-eastern Cameroon. Dr Jeremy Avis and Dr Paul Harhe doesn't know she intends to defraud her hrother!" ris from Oxford University have Every normal person over the age of five can demondemonstrated that an ability to strate theory of mind. And write is not necessary to an understanding of beliefs and although it was only discovered just over a decade ago, there is desires, by performing a version of the Sally-Ann test involving now scientific evidence indimangoes in cooking pots. Again, only children over the cating exactly which part of the brain computes what other

The litmus test of having a theory of mind is whether you can understand that someone else believes something to be true when it is, in fact, false. Dr Heinz Wimmer and Dr Josef Perner, from the University of Salzburg in Austria, were the first psychologists to prove that children under the age of four to five cannot understand these

people are thinking.

so-called "false beliefs". They devised a task known as the Sally-Ann test. Children were told a story about two dolls, Sally and Ann. Sally has a basket and Ann has a box. Sally places her marble in her basket and goes out. While she is out, naughty Ann moves pointing, rather than at their Sally's marble from the busket finger. This is the first step

to her box, then she leaves the towards understanding that at which they can pass the test, room. Sally comes back in. what their parents are looking Until two recent studies no at is what they are mentally pay-

ing attention to. Later, children develop a growing awareness that seeing leads to knowing - in other words, if you are looking in a cupboard, you know far more about its contents than someone who is standing next to it but not looking inside. Between three and four, children start to understand that other people have desires and wishes, until finally

they comprehend false beliefs. The exact age at which a child can perform a theory-of-mind task is determined by how many siblings there are in the family, and how extensive the child's vocabulary is: the larger the family and the more words a child knows, the earlier the age radioactivity shows up in the

one could say which area of the brain was used in this process. In one experiment, a team led by Dr Paul Fletcher and Professor Chris Frith of the Wellcome Department of Cognitive Neurology in London gave brain scans to volunteers who were listening to storics that either required a physical understanding of the word Junderstanding. for example, that if you knock a

person, they may fall) and ones

that needed a mental understanding, such as the Sally-Ann task. They used the PET scan, in which a subject is given a dose of radioactive oxygen in water. When a particular part of the brain is especially active, it uses more oxygen. The

scan, which can be coloured to show levels of activity. Both types of stories showed increased brain activity in the temporal lobes, the superior temporal lobe and the posterior cingulate cortex. But only the theory of mind tasks activated an area at the front of the brain known as Brodmann's 8, on the frontal lobe.

PET scans to students while they listened to a theory-of-mind task. Dr Vinod Goel, Dr Jordan Grafman and col-leagues at Bethesda, in the US. asked students how Christopher Columbus might have categorised the function of artefacts he discovered on his travels; they had to assume what kind of knowledge a European in the 15th century might have – a rather bizarre version of the Sally-Ann task. All the subjects also used the same part of the frontal lobe.

Brodmann's 8 has widespread connections to the rest of the brain. Professor Frith believes that the part of the brain associated with theory of mind may be needed to integrate information and stimuli drawn from

other parts of the brain. The work is highly important, not only in furthering our own understanding of the mind, but for people with autism. Sufferers of the disorder do not The other study, conducted slightly earlier than Fletcher and Frith's, also involved giving the socially or communicate effectives. socially or communicate effec-tively. Finding out whether this area of the brain is damaged in people with autism could help us to understand and treat autism, which at present is an incurable disorder.

> Sanjida O'Connell's first novel. Theory of Mind', is published this month by Black Swan, £6.99.

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